



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Cameroon

Opposition Plans Inauguration Rally in Bamenda

AB2605130390 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 25 May 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The leader of the Cameroon would-be opposition party, the Social Democratic Front, SDF, John Frundi, is apparently not a man to be put off easily. He planned to launch an inaugural rally of the party in the northwestern town of Bamenda tomorrow, but the authorities have been putting all sorts of obstacles in his way, saying his party is not properly registered, the permission in writing hasn't been given, etc. And extra security forces are being drafted into Bamenda. But it seems Mr. Frundi intends to go ahead. Our Yaounde correspondent, Vincent Sass, has been in touch by telephone with the SDF leader and he telexed us this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] Mr. Frundi told me this morning that he would still go ahead with the inauguration rally for his party unless the government sent him a telex or radio message asking him to stop. When I asked him if he would go ahead unconditionally, he hesitated and said, well, no, I would set a new date for about one month's time. Mr. Frundi confirmed that the atmosphere was very tense in Bamenda, that there were police roadblocks on all the roads leading into town but, he said, the people were going into and out of Bamenda after having their luggage thoroughly searched for weapons. If Mr. Frundi is successful in forming his party, it will be the first opposition party in Cameroon since 1966 and he said I have instructed all my people to stay nonviolent whatever happens. [end recording]

Cordon Around Bamenda City Center

AB2605145590 Paris AFP in French 1240 GMT
26 May 90

[Text] Bamenda (Cameroon), 26 May (AFP)—The center of Bamenda, the capital of the Northwest Province, was cordoned off today by a large number of soldiers and policemen, a few hours before the gathering planned by an unauthorized opposition party, the Social Democratic Front (SDF), according to the AFP correspondent on the spot. At 0300 (0200 GMT), armed troops took position at the different road junctions, blocking access to the "city center," where the gathering was supposed to take place. SDF Chairman John Frundi told AFP last night that he expected about 50,000 people at the gathering which will mark the launching of his party's activities.

On 16 March, the SDF submitted an application for recognition to the administrative authorities, according to his entourage. Under Cameroonian laws, no political party can carry out its activities unless it has been issued an acknowledgement receipt by the Ministry of Territorial Administration. In anticipation of bureaucratic

delays, and since the law does not prescribe a deadline for the issuance of the receipt, SDF officials had fixed for themselves a two-month deadline after which they would officially launch their party. They planned to distribute their manifestos to the population in the afternoon and begin the registration of members, they said. Apart from the heavy security presence in the center, the town was calm this morning.

Troops Disperse Demonstrators

AB2605193290 Paris AFP in English 1847 GMT
26 May 90

[Text] Bamenda, Cameroon, May 26 (AFP)—Troops firing tear gas Saturday prevented a demonstration in northwest Cameroon by several thousand people calling for a multi-party system in the West African country. The opposition Social Democratic Front (SDF) had been expecting some 50,000 supporters for an inaugural march and rally. But armed soldiers and police took up positions overnight at strategic points and cross roads sealing off the town centre from where the SDF march was to set out. Witnesses said they fired tear gas canisters to prevent the protesters, who were chanting "Yes to liberalisation" and "Now is the time for democracy," from reaching the rally point.

Several hundred demonstrators had earlier rallied in the suburbs of Bamenda, the capital of northwest Cameroon's English-speaking province, to hear SDF leader John Ndi Fru declare the launch of his party's activities. The party had applied for official registration on March 16, and is still awaiting legalisation.

Cameroon is the latest West African country, after the Ivory Coast and Gabon, to be shaken by pro-democracy protests.

Calm Restored in Bamenda

AB2705104890 Paris AFP in French 2007 GMT
26 May 90

[Text] Bamenda (Cameroon), 26 May (AFP)—Today, two persons were killed and nine others wounded by bullets during demonstrations in Bamenda (capital of the North-West Province), Dr. Fodje, a surgeon at Bamenda Provincial Hospital, told AFP. An AFP correspondent saw the body of one of the victims, a young man about 15, but he could not see the second victim, whose body had been evacuated by security men, according to Dr. Fodje. Nine other persons were wounded by bullets. One of them was seriously wounded, according to the surgeon. No official confirmation of the killings could be obtained from the provincial capital.

These demonstrations followed the launching of an illegal opposition party, the Social Democratic Front (SDF). SDF Chairman John Ndi Fru, who had called for a march—banned by the authorities—told AFP today that he was not responsible for the incidents that occurred after his inaugural speech delivered at a square in the town at about 1300 (1200 GMT).

Late in the afternoon, calm was gradually restored and men of law enforcement units from the Mobile Intervention Group (GMI) had removed roadblocks erected earlier in the morning at different intersection in the town.

As of 1900, a perimeter in the center of the town was still cordoned off while groups of young demonstrators continued to confront security forces. Several small barriers were erected by the demonstrators during the day, and the streets, strewn with rocks at some intersections, attest to the clashes that took place between the security forces and demonstrators throughout the afternoon.

Deaths in Bamenda Reported

*AB2705114490 Yaounde Domestic Service in English
0600 GMT 27 May 90*

[Summary From Poor Reception] The newscast carries this statement from the editorial authorities of the Cameroon Radio and Television Corporation, CRTV:

"Yesterday evening, 26 May 1990, some 20,000 members of the still illegal party headed by the owner of one of Bamenda's publishing companies, held a rally despite the ban by the governor of Northwest Province. Despite the armed deployment by law and order officials they were attacked by the large growing mob. "Firm orders had been given to the security forces not to use arms on the demonstrators, whatever the circumstances." Acts of vandalism, according to police reports, left several casualties when arms and police water canon vans were used to disperse the mob. "The rampage that ensued led to six dead demonstrators, including a woman, and many wounded, among them members of the security forces."

"In like manner, a small group of 300-400 students, mostly from Northwest Province, organized a demonstration at the University of Yaounde in support of progressive forces and "to call for an immediate (?resumption) of multiparty politics in Cameroon. The students marched from their campus to an intersection, a distance of two and a half kilometers." A counter-demonstration by a sizeable number of students to dissuade their fellow students from anything that might lead to police intervention and for the complete restoration of the calm students need to adequately prepare their end of year examinations.

"It is necessary, maybe, to point out that some 150 students [words indistinct] had organized a march brandishing placards and at one point singing the Nigerian national anthem." The university authorities point out that the fact that less than one percent of the establishment's (?13,000) students demonstrated yesterday means that a majority of the students adopted a responsible and wise attitude.

The Bamenda and Yaounde events are indicative of the security forces' inability to control mobs. Demonstrators did not respect order. The "movements are essentially illegal in character. Foreign media present in Bamenda to

cover the rally and ensuing violence had been conspicuous because of recent and significant events and the nationwide rallies" which spoke out against an unstudied and random introduction of multiparty politics; "the renewal of basic organs of the party and the National Day parades in Yaounde and across the country."

"In view of these facts, it is necessary to point out that democracy [words indistinct] is orderly, that no one is above the law, and the state as guarantor of order and the security of the citizen cannot tolerate anything that endangers public order, the national unity." "Furthermore, Cameroonians have not rejected multiparty politics" and it has been loudly expressed throughout the provinces. The various elections organized since his coming to power attest to this fact. It must be underlined that the truly major problem that still confronts Cameroon is the present state of the economy. Anything that will enhance national integration must be supported by every Cameroonian, so as to achieve "peace, harmony, progress, and national solidarity."

Death Toll Rises to 6

*AB2705110990 Paris AFP in English 1020 GMT
27 May 90*

[Text] Bamenda, Cameroon, May 27 (AFP)—Six people were killed Saturday during incidents which broke out during an opposition demonstration in Bamenda, west Cameroon, the national radio reported Sunday. The radio said the six were trampled to death but several witnesses told AFP the six were shot by police and troops. An AFP correspondent saw one body, that of a 15-year-old boy. The radio said 20,000 people were involved in the clashes which went on for several hours in the town centre.

The incidents broke out after a banned inaugural meeting called by the opposition Social Democratic Front (SDF). Security forces turned out to prevent the rally from taking place as scheduled in the town centre. But several hundred supporters rallied in the suburbs to hear SDF leader John Ndi Fru proclaim the launch of his party. The SDF applied for registration on March 16 but has still not been legalised. After the meeting, several thousand demonstrators converged on the town centre where police fired tear gas to disperse the crowd.

Cameroon is the latest West African country, after Ivory Coast and Gabon, to be shaken by pro-democracy protests.

On Sunday Bamenda, capital of Cameroon's English-speaking province, was littered with debris from barricades and stones. Security forces had withdrawn from the town centre but were patrolling the streets and guarding all main crossroads.

Further on Demonstrations

*AB2705212990 Yaounde Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 27 May 90*

[Text] Marches have been staged also in Cameroon. Marches were indeed staged a few weeks ago to support the fights launched by President Biya's government against the economic crisis and for a controlled democratization in the country. These are marches for life. Also on 20 May, marches were organized to maintain and celebrate the nation.

In these cases, it was for honor and patriotic faith. Yesterday, 26 May, people staged marches in Bamenda. They were not too many, and they said they were marching for a multiparty system, but this time it was unfortunately to destroy property, namely buildings and shops, and lives, with a tally of some six people dead. In conclusion, all this means that especially and paradoxically they staged marches (against the people's liberties).

Many Cameroonians in our 10 provinces have been concerned and indignant about this phenomenon in the country, which therefore prompted them to be more vigilant. I will soon read to you the message of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement militants of Mfoundi Prefecture.

But what happened yesterday in Bamenda? Cameroon Radio and Television witnessed the events there. They report that some 20,000 people took to the streets in Bamenda, and this despite a prefectoral order banning demonstrations. Indeed, the demonstrators engaged in acts of vandalism and violence, taking advantage of the instruction that had been given to the security forces not to use their arms.

After the ensuing stampede, in addition to destruction of property, there was loss of life—some six dead in all, and particularly many injured people. There were injured people among the demonstrators and also some members of the security forces, namely an officer who was seriously wounded.

In Yaounde, some 200 students from Northwestern Province also left the campus and went as far as the EMIA [expansion unknown]. However a counter-demonstration was also organized by some other students, and it was thanks to the rapid and peaceful intervention of the law enforcement agents that calm was restored.

It is worth pointing out some essential facts in this affair. Very obviously and in view of the very limited number of the participants in the Bamenda march, these demonstrations did not involve all the citizens of Northwestern Province. The same goes for the students who staged a march at Yaounde University on 9 and 26 May 1990.

Of course, the Bamenda and Yaounde events were carefully planned and coordinated. The provocation of the security forces by the demonstrators and the peaceful

intervention of the latter are clear. The high school and university students who took part in the demonstrations seem to have been manipulated.

The foreign media present in Bamenda to cover the provocative and violent demonstrations did not deem it necessary to give an account of the following recent and socially significant facts: the marches of support throughout the entire Cameroonian country against a hastily introduced multiparty system, the recent renewing of the grassroots organs of the party over the past few days, the imposing 1 and 20 May marches, and so on. In view of this, it is worth recalling that democratization does not mean anarchy, and the state, which is the guarantor of law and order as well as of the security of all the citizens, cannot tolerate the acts that threaten law and order.

Meanwhile, the Cameroonian people do not reject a multiparty system, but want it to be the result of a well-planned, coherent process, as called for by President Paul Biya, who has already and courageously brought Cameroon onto the path of democratic openness through the various elections held since he assumed office as president of the Republic. Therefore, it is not irrelevant to hereby urge all Cameroonians to consolidate national integration on a daily basis and to strive to help the ideals of peace, concord, progress, and national solidarity prevail in our efforts and in our well-done work, of course.

Bamenda Incident Called 'Genocide'

*AB2805111490 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 28 May 90*

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Marco Werman]

[Text] In Cameroon, the deaths of at least six young people at the hands of security forces in the northern town of Bamenda has thrown the government of President Paul Biya into crisis. The trouble began on Saturday, when thousands of supporters of the outlawed Social Democratic Front (SDF) marched to the center of Bamenda to call for the introduction of a multiparty system. They were met by security forces who fired tear gas to disperse them. When people responded by throwing stones, the security forces reportedly opened fire.

Well, Nde Ntumaza is president of the Cameroon Democratic Front, an umbrella opposition group that includes the SDF. He is here in London. I asked him for his reaction to the weekend's events:

[Begin recording] [Ntumaza] The events which took place yesterday in Bamenda were very disturbing. What actually happened was that the Biya plan to conduct a genocide in Bamenda was carried out. What actually happened was he had closed all markets, preventing people from going from the city. So apart from starving the people, he instructed his military machine to open

fire on young men who were, in fact, actually manifesting their joy for the launching of the SDF.

[Werman] But Mr. Ntumaza, surely some of the blame for these deaths over the weekend must rest on your shoulders and the leaders of the opposition parties who know that it is illegal for them to gather in Cameroon.

[Ntumaza] The only thing which can make gathering or assembly illegal is the Constitution. When a head of state takes over, the first thing he swears to defend is the Constitution. So the Constitution allows Cameroonians free assembly, free speech, free demonstration. But this Constitution is being violated. What we are doing—the SDF and all other organizations are doing in Cameroon—is defending that Constitution.

And again, Mr. Biya is carrying out this genocide against people who are paying him. The taxpayers of Cameroon are paying Mr. Biya, the government, and the army. He is using the people's money to buy guns and to destroy those people who pay him, who make it possible for him to function, who permit him to siphon out Cameroon money and put it in foreign banks and buy houses all over, maintaining his children in all other countries. So this is a very serious charge, and I expect Mr. Biya to respond to it.

[Werman] So after the events this weekend, where do you think things are going now in Cameroon, Mr. Ntumaza?

[Ntumaza] Well, the thing is Cameroonians continue to campaign for their rights to form political parties. They will continue to campaign for multipartism in Cameroon, they will continue to campaign that democracy should be installed in the country. The students in Yaounde (university) demonstrated in support of the formation of the party yesterday. One hundred students were arrested in Yaounde. So this campaign will go on. [end recording]

Situation Reportedly 'Calm'

*AB2805220790 Yaounde Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] Territorial Administration Minister Ibrahim Mbomo Njoya has returned from Bamenda. While there, he noticed that calm has returned to the Northwestern provincial capital.

Students Arrested in Yaounde Demonstrations

*AB2805094590 Paris AFP in English 0937 GMT
28 May 90*

[Text] Yaounde, May 28 (AFP)—Security forces in Cameroon arrested 300 student opposition supporters in Yaounde Saturday, the same day that six people were reported to have died at a banned opposition rally in the western town of Bamenda, reliable sources said Monday.

The sources said the detained students had turned out to support the Social Democratic Front (SDF), a new party led by John Ndi Fru which has been waiting for more than two months to be legalised.

In Bamenda, capital of English-speaking west Cameroon, six people were killed Saturday during incidents which broke out during an SDF demonstration by 20,000 people, the national radio said in a report Sunday. The radio said the six were trampled to death but several witnesses told AFP the six were shot by police.

In Yaounde, converging accounts of Saturday's incidents said security forces had herded the students onto the university campus where clashes and arrests continued throughout the afternoon. Police were still guarding the approaches to the university late Sunday night.

According to government radio, 200 students, west Cameroonians, demonstrated Saturday outside Yaounde University. The radio said clashes had broken out between the English-speaking students and students "from other provinces."

On Monday, year-end exams were to start at Yaounde University. The university chancellor in a communique Sunday night said no change was planned in the [words indistinct].

Cameroon is the latest West African country, after Ivory Coast and Gabon, to be shaken by pro-democracy protests.

Arrested Students Released

*AB2805182990 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 28 May 90*

[From the "African News"]

[Text] The authorities in Cameroon say all the students, arrested at Yaounde University on Saturday [26 May] following an opposition rally, have now been released. A correspondent for the BBC in Yaounde says about 350 students were detained during raids in and around the university, which lasted for several hours. The rally was held in support of the Social Democratic Front, a new opposition party which is waiting to be granted legal status. At the party's inaugural rally in the southwestern town of Bamenda on Saturday, at least six people were reported to have been killed during clashes with the security forces.

Opposition Accused of Receiving Foreign Funds

*AB2905194590 Paris AFP in English 1826 GMT
29 May 90*

[Text] Yaounde, May 29 (AFP)—A Cameroon Government minister, Ibrahim Mbombo Njoya, Tuesday accused an outlawed opposition party of receiving funds from abroad, three days after six people died at a rally organized by the party.

In an interview with the Cameroon TRIBUNE, the minister of territorial administration said "we have official documents" proving that "the founder of the illegal party", John Fru Ndi, "is being subsidized from abroad".

"Singing the national anthem of a neighboring country is an act of high treason," he added. The interview was seen by many observers as an indication that arrests were imminent.

Supporters of Mr Fru Ndi's Social Democratic Front (SDF) sang the Nigerian national anthem during Saturday's inaugural SDF rally at Bamenda in the west of the country. Cameroon radio has reported.

The national radio Sunday said six people were trampled to death at the rally, but several witnesses told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the six were shot by police when demonstrators broke through a cordon formed by security forces.

The radio, quoting "unofficial sources", Tuesday stated that Mr Fru Ndi has fled to Nigeria, something he Sunday told AFP he would not do. His telephone has since been cut off.

The radio also carried a declaration by three prominent people from Bamenda, the capital of the English-speaking part of the country, which called Mr. Fru Ndi a "troublemaker,... an opportunist and a political adventurer". They blamed him for the "deaths of innocents".

Several hundred supporters had rallied in Bamenda suburbs to hear the SDF leader proclaim the launch of his party, which applied for registration on March 16 but has still not been legalised.

Cameroon is the latest West African country, after Ivory Coast and Gabon to be shaken by pro-democracy protests. It is a de facto one-party state.

Mfoundi Message on Students' Maneuvers

*AB2805150590 Yaounde Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 27 May 90*

[Message from Basile Ema Banguie, chairman of the Mfoundi section of the Cameroon People's Democratic Movement, RDPC, to militants and citizens of Mfoundi Prefecture; date not given]

[Text] After carefully and thoroughly examining the situation throughout the world and in neighboring countries,

after satisfactorily noting the marches of support staged throughout the country by RDPC militants and citizens in general as well as by university students for the efforts being made by Paul Biya, president of the Republic and national RDPC chairman;

after noting the successful performance of the RDPC militants of Mfoundi in the 20 May march;

after lambasting the vile maneuvers aimed, on the one hand, at undermining our dearly achieved national unity and, on the other, at jeopardizing for good the fight against our crisis of economic development and the welfare of all Cameroonians, and also at diverting Cameroonians from the real fight—namely, control of the economic and financial crisis, the Mfoundi RDPC section, following an extraordinary emergency session at Yaounde City Hall today, 27 May 1990, which was attended by members of other sections, addresses the following message to the RDPC militants, all citizens, and to Mfoundi high school as well as university students:

Considering that barely two months ago, marches of support and encouragement for the efforts being made by His Excellency Paul Biya, president of the Republic and national RDPC chairman;

considering the painful events in Bamenda on 27 May 1990, events that resulted in loss of lives and considerable destruction of property;

considering that this unprecedented phenomenon in Cameroon calls for protest and indignation from Cameroonians, be they militants or not, and for increased responsibility and discernment;

considering the illegal demonstrations organized by a group of Yaounde University students on the eve of their end of year examinations;

considering that such behavior is in blatant contradiction to the very recent marches and rallies of support in Yaounde, Bamenda, and in all the prefectures of the country;

considering that a number of fellow countrymen, stating that at the beginning of the 1990's, winds from the East or the West are blowing throughout the world, have begun to demand a multiparty system with noise and disinformation campaigns;

considering that a multiparty system is far from being a magic remedy, the panacea that will help overcome the crisis and magically bring us the desired well-being;

considering that this multiparty system that they want at all costs to impose on us is not necessarily the guarantor of democracy and might awake in our country the old devils of unproductive discord, chieftaincy wars, and, finally, engender dubious, nefarious, and dangerous alliances—namely the chaos that we succeeded with difficulty in overcoming;

considering that it is a duty for us and for our children to maintain a climate of peace and concord for a harmonious development, especially for a more efficient struggle against the crisis;

considering that our high school and university brothers and sisters more than ever need a serene climate to pass their end of year examinations;

considering all this, the aforementioned party section calls on all Cameroonians to understand that the RDPC is the only framework currently appropriate for exercising true democracy, a democracy made in Cameroon, provided that all Cameroonians understand that our efforts should be guided by the highest interest of the nation, which guarantees the interest of all, and that for now, the RDPC is preparing us to debate ideas and run for elections.

The Mfoundi party section also calls on Cameroonians to understand that when a multiparty system is demanded with so much insistence by non-Cameroonians and, since yesterday, by Cameroonians who are far from us, it can only speed up the sinking of our boat; that a multiparty system might quickly lead us to nefarious discord that will result in the loss of our sovereignty so dearly achieved; and that what is currently taking place in Bamenda is an indication of what this acclaimed multiparty system has in store for us. It therefore calls on all militants from Mfoundi Prefecture to be extra vigilant—for the enemy is in our homes—not to let themselves be tempted by adventure and anarchy, the anarchy of those who want to undermine our national unity and turn our country back 30 years.

It calls on high school and university students of Cameroon in general and of Mfoundi in particular to have a greater sense of responsibility and realism, by making their examinations a priority that will soon crown a year of sustained effort and sacrifice, and by rejecting adventure and anarchy.

Signed by the Mfoundi RDPC section chairman.

Gabon

Prime Minister on State Power, Military, Riots

AB2905205690 Dakar PANA in French 1402 GMT
29 May 90

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Libreville, 29 May (AGP-GAB/PANA)—Gabonese Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba said today in Libreville that "power is not in the hands of the military."

He stated during a news conference covered by Gabonese and French journalists that "the state of emergency does not mean that power is in the hands of the military and that the Army is the security arm of the government."

He added that power resides at the Renovation Palace, "the Presidency of the republic, and justified the installation of the state of emergency in the Ogooue-Maritime Province (Central West) of the country as in normal response to the "worsening" tension displayed by rioters in this region.

According to him, the Gabonese Armed Forces were dispatched to Port-Gentil to "maintain" order and not to "massacre" the people.

On the other hand, the prime minister expressed surprise at the refusal of the Gabonese opposition to collaborate with his government, which has been forcing itself to establish democratic mechanisms and structures (monitoring committees, a new electoral law, and administrative districts) in conformity with the spirit of the national charter. Despite this, the government will continue the democratic process it has begun, he said.

He expressed the government's "displeasure" at the evacuation of French citizens and the suspension of work in the oil industry at the sole initiative of "Elf-Gabon."

He expressed hope that everything would soon return to normal for the early return of the French, and the resumption of work in the oil industry, because, he said, "oil is very important to us."

Oye-Mba warned that the failure of the French to return could make Gabon to choose other partners.

The most violent activities took place in Libreville, Port-Gentil, and Lambarene following the death on 23 May of the secretary general of the Gabonese Progress Party (PGP), Joseph Rendjambe, under conditions that are still not clear.

The agitations that followed in which important public and private buildings were burned or destroyed, shops looted, and vehicles broken, continue at Port-Gentil, the PGP headquarters, it is recalled.

Bongo Warns Oil Company on Operations

AB2905164090 London BBC World Service in English
1500 GMT 29 May 90

[From the "Newsreel" program]

[Text] Troops in the West African State of Gabon have used live ammunition and tear gas to put down demonstrations today in the City of Port-Gentil. During renewed clashes, the soldiers rounded up many people, among them leaders of the opposition Gabonese Party of Progress, organizing the protest. French troops stationed in Gabon have continued to evacuate French citizens still in the city. David Bamford in Abidjan has been following today's developments:

[Begin Bamford recording] Following yesterday's declaration by President Bongo of a state of siege in Port-Gentil, the Gabonese military, supported by elite troops of the Presidential Guard, appear to have moved in fast to put an end to a week of disturbances. Machinegun fire has been heard coming from the densely populated African quarter. Details of casualties are unclear, but there are said to be many wounded. One report says that a soldier caught by some of the protesters was beaten to death.

Lorry loads of people have been seen being taken away by the Army, among them prominent opposition figures from the Gabonese Party of Progress, the death of whose leader, Joseph Rendjambe, originally sparked off the unrest.

The French Army, whose troops have also been deployed to evacuate French oil workers and their families, says it played no part in today's operation to quell the disturbances. About 500 French citizens remaining in Port-Gentil are assembled at two special rallying points, heavily protected by the French soldiers. In an operation today, up to 60 of them, mostly women and children, have been evacuated north to the capital, Libreville.

President Bongo has warned the French that if their oil company does not resume operations, he will take away its concession. A spokesman for the company, Elf-Aquitaine, has said that it is continuing offshore work, and that production will resume again in Port-Gentil as soon as the security situation improves.

Security Forces, Demonstrators Clash 29 May

*AB2905151790 Dakar PANA in English 1504 GMT
29 May 90*

[Text] Libreville, 29 May (AGP-GAB/PANA)—Gabonese security forces and demonstrators have since morning been engaged in clashes in Port-Gentil, informed sources in Libreville said Tuesday. Meanwhile President Omar Bongo on Tuesday toured the Gabonese capital in his command vehicle amid the glare of Gabonese and French television cameras.

The informed sources said several people have been arrested by soldiers in the popular quarters of Port-Gentil, Gabon's economic capital, where a state of siege has been declared and where automatic gunfire could be heard. The state of siege on Port-Gentil was declared Monday evening by the prime minister, Mr Casimir Oye Mba, who announced in a television message that the decision had been taken by President Bongo in conformity with the constitution and after consultations with the bureau of the Gabonese National Assembly.

Troops Regain Control of Port-Gentil

*AB2905160290 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT
29 May 90*

[By Pierre Briand]

[Text] Port-Gentil, Gabon, May 29 (AFP)—Gabonese troops Tuesday regained control of the economic capital Port-Gentil, where several people have been shot in anti-government unrest and hundreds of foreigners were preparing to leave.

Three members of the opposition Gabonese Progress Party (PGP) were arrested early in the day. The protests here began last Wednesday after the unexplained death of a PGP leader in a hotel in Libreville, the capital of the West African state.

In the afternoon, after an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent heard automatic weapons fire and explosions in the poorer districts, Port Gentil seemed quiet, with few residents on the streets. Troops were posted at major junctions and helicopters flew overhead.

Panicking crowds, shrouded in tear gas, had in the morning surged blindly through the central shopping district. Nearby, an armoured vehicle had lumbered down the road pushing a gutted car.

French troops Tuesday flew up to 60 women and children out of Port-Gentil, an oil town accessible only by sea and air, where other French nationals have gathered at the Elf-Gabon oil headquarters and a hotel.

Five Gabonese generals, including the chief of staff, General Ngari, arrived in the morning, following Monday's declaration of a state of siege. An AFP correspondent saw protestors being bundled into trucks.

The airport was in military hands, with a small French Army liaison group standing by. France has reinforced its troop strength in the former colony, but stressed that their role was to protect French nationals.

Much of the town had for six days been in the hands of PGP supporters, some of whom have accused President Omar Bongo of being behind the death of the party's secretary-general, Joseph Rendjambe.

At the central hospital Tuesday, a 12-year-old girl was among six people being treated for gunshot wounds. She had been hit in the shoulder by small shot. Some of the elite presidential guard troops sent to restore order in Port-Gentil are armed with shotguns, but demonstrators have also been out on the streets with hunting rifles.

Hospital staff had been on strike, but feared that more injured people would be admitted during the course of the day, a doctor said.

At the airport, several hundred foreigners were waiting to leave. One woman evacuated in the morning told reporters after arriving in Libreville that "life had become unbearable" in Port-Gentil.

The French oil firm Elf Aquitaine meanwhile resumed production at offshore wells early in the day and expected to bring output up to 80 per cent of normal by Wednesday, a company spokesman said.

A spokesman for Shell in London said "operations are continuing in Gabon as near normal as possible." But he confirmed that employees' wives and children—about 250 in all—had been evacuated from Port-Gentil.

Mr. Bongo, who early this month set up a transition government to prepare for a multi-party system after 22 years of autocratic rule, had Monday told the foreign oil firms to resume operations or get out.

Shortly before news of the clashes in Port-Gentil, Gabonese Prime Minister Casimir Oye Mba told

reporters in Libreville that the troops had been sent not to "massacre citizens or rioters, but to maintain order."

He added that the government had been reluctant to impose a state of siege, but could not "sit back with folded arms" as "armed gangs roamed Port-Gentil."

There would be no "useless brutality," the premier said, adding that troops would not "take the initiative of opening fire" and calling on protest leaders to "show wisdom and a sense of responsibility."

Mr. Rendjambe, the PGP leader, was found dead Tuesday [22 May] in a Libreville hotel, allegedly after a mysterious meeting with a woman. Police said he had the mark of a needle in his abdomen.

His death, which also sparked rioting in Libreville and other towns, came after weeks of unrest over economic and political conditions, which forced Mr. Bongo to hold a national conference and pledge to bring in a multi-party system.

Clashes, Injuries Reported

*AB2905225290 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 29 May 90*

[Excerpts] Port-Gentil continues to make headlines. Clashes continued this afternoon in the Gabonese economic capital where Gabonese military forces regained control over strategic points of the city early this morning. It was very difficult this afternoon, to take stock of the consequences of the clashes between security forces and the Gabonese Party of Progress [PGP] militants, in which most important leaders were arrested by the security forces early this morning. A Gabonese paratrooper was captured and beaten by the demonstrators and was immediately evacuated to Libreville.

Here are more details from Crepin Nganga, our special envoy to Port-Gentil, who attended General (Ponsi)'s news conference, commanding officer of the Port-Gentil military contingent:

[Nganga] What should be remembered today is that at 0400 in the morning, the military "clean up" operations were launched by 360 troopers. No one was killed, but some people were wounded, three very seriously. Among them, one soldier was wounded at the head and the abdomen. Arms and ammunitions were seized but not enough, according to Gen. (Ponsi).

As for arrests, 18 or 19 people were arrested, about 5,000 have already left Port-Gentil, and they were people who left because they were scared. Twenty-four hours after the declaration of a state of siege by Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba, the security forces regained control of the situation, Gen. Ponsi said, because leaders have all been arrested. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Order Not Yet Reestablished

*AB3005072490 Paris AFP in English 2351 GMT
29 May 90*

[Text] Port-Gentil, May 29 (AFP)—The general in command of the Gabonese forces who on Tuesday took control of Gabon's main oil city of Port-Gentil has denied allegations that his troops fired on protesters.

General Poncy, the commander in charge of the Port-Gentil province, told a news conference here that the injuries of six people who were hospitalized during the day were due to grenade shrapnel and not to bullets.

Gen. Poncy, who was flanked by Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Idris Ngari, said his 300 men had used grenades against protesters who fired on them from behind barricades.

Earlier in the day an AFP reporter had heard gunfire and the explosion of grenades in the city.

Gen. Poncy added that order was not yet fully re-established because of a large quantity of stolen arms were still in the hands of the rioters. However he said his forces were in control of the lagoon city's streets.

The Gabonese officer added that either 18 or 19 people, including all the local leadership of the opposition Gabonese Progress Party had been arrested during the day's operations. They would be taken to the capital Libreville to be tried in front of a military court, he added.

Also on Tuesday, around a thousand Africans were taken from Port Gentil towards Libreville on the troop carrier which had earlier brought in the troop reinforcements.

And in Libreville a reliable source said that since the start of the unrest a week ago President Omar Bongo had called the French former head of his elite presidential guard unit out of retirement to help him restore order.

Louis "Loulou" Martin, 68, who had resigned his post of major in the French Army to organize Mr. Bongo's guard, was one of the core of French expatriate military men who helped build up the West [as received] African nation's armed forces.

* Ethnic Intrigue Fueled by Economic Neglect

*34190654 London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL
in English 6 Apr 90 pp 2-3*

[Words in italics as published]

[Text] The National Conference for Democracy, which opened on 27 March, was suspended on 3 April after uproar the previous day, as delegates demanded the status of a Constituent Assembly. President Omar Bongo had already signalled his readiness for a trial of strength with the opposition by turning up over an hour late for the opening session.

Earlier in the week the government had imposed a curfew and a ban on gatherings of more than five persons. This followed three days of rioting that was particularly violent in the economic capital, Port-Gentil. The local press reported that several demonstrators were injured in shooting incidents and there were unconfirmed reports of deaths. Eyewitnesses say that, in an unprecedented move, Lebanese businessmen were using birdshot to defend their property against angry demonstrators. Behind them stood youths with Kalashnikov rifles which were not used. Expatriate (mainly French) families and some staff attached to the energy companies there—Elf, Royal Dutch Shell and British Gas—were evacuated to Paris by special plane. This unusual exodus was virtually ignored by the French media.

Both the public and private sectors were paralysed by strikes or go-slows. One obvious lesson from this continuing unrest at a time when political liberalisation is on the agenda is that there is a general demand for a fairer income distribution. Frustration has been turned against those judged corrupt or incompetent.

The most forceful expressions of this frustration, and of opposition to the government, have come from the northern branch of the Fang people. The *Mouvement de redressement national* (National Renewal Movement-Morena) has now split into several factions. Its leader, Father Paul Mba Abessole, has now come closer to Bongo by supporting the *Rassemblement social-démocrate gabonais*. The wing of Morena which remains a vehicle for the opposition of the northern branch of the Fang is led by men like Fr. Noel Ngwa-Nguema and his assistant, Simon Oyono Aba'a. Along with a few dozen activists, both men were imprisoned for several years in the early 1980s.

The northern Fang complaint is simple. Bongo and Prime Minister Leon Mebiame's 20 years in power have resulted in ministerial over-representation for two regions: the president's own Haut-Ogooue, and the premier's Estuaire, the area around Libreville. The northern Fang are numerous but their economy is neglected. They are demanding not democracy as such, but the recognition of their right to share of political power. The fact that the national conference chairman is a northern Fang, Monsignor Mwe (like his counterpart in the Benin democratic conference, a Catholic bishop), will not convince his people that change has come. Nor is it enough for Bongo to have a Fang prime minister, for Mebiame comes from Estuaire. Relations between Bongo and Mebiame are difficult, and have recently deteriorated because of personal rivalries.

Supporters of each side are using ethnic rumour as a weapon. It is being spread around that Bongo was really born in the Congo and came to Gabon only as an adult, with the help of France. Meanwhile, tracts are circulating with the story that Mebiame is actually Guinean, is associated with the Mpongwe ethnic group and has chosen political allies of foreign origin.

Another major force is the Bapounou group. Pierre Mamboundou of the *Union du peuple gabonais*, the leader of a coup plot in 1989, now in exile in Dakar, is important because of the UPG [Union of Gabonese People]'s claims to arbitrate between Haut-Ogooue and the Fang. Bongo has demonstrated his awareness of their importance by appointing as personal advisors two Bapounous who were both implicated in Mamboundou's plot: Louis-Gaston Mayila and Divungi Di Ndingue. The aim is to fragment Bapounou demands and use them to counter those of the Fang. It seems that, following the Bongo-Mebiame conflict, the Fang may indeed be able to unite against Bongo. This would involve rallying the support of some Mpongwe, who have been marginalised by the dominance of Haut-Ogooue. Bongo has already sacrificed many of his fellow Bateke who held important positions in ministries and state companies. But they are still active in the ruling *Parti démocratique gabonais* (PDG) and may oppose the party's attempts to self-destruct.

The ethnic pressure is there strong. A Bapounou challenger is a possibility, as a hedge against Fang hegemony. Bongo is trying to deal the cards again. Thus he is planning a new constitutional system. This would keep him as president, with a northern Fang as vice-president, a Bapounou as premier, a Senate president from the Estuaire Fang and a Mpongwe Assembly leader. Leaks from the conference suggest that three or four parties would be allowed. But first, Bongo must win his trial of strength with the opposition.

Zaire

Mobutu Pardons Former People's Commissioner

EA2605083090 Bukavu Domestic Service in French
0430 GMT 24 May 90

[Text] Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, the president of the Republic, has just pardoned citizen Ngongo Luwowa, a former people's commissioner. The presidential office has published decree No. 90-37 of 31 March abrogating all the charges which brought citizen Ngongo Luwowa to justice.

Reportage on Student Demonstrations in Mbuji-Mayi

EA2705081590 Kinshasa Domestic Service in French
0500 GMT 24 May 90

[Excerpt] The student unrest has spread to Mbanza-Ngungu and Mbuji-Mayi where student demonstrations have been taking place as a mark of solidarity with their Lubumbashi campus counterparts. The demonstrations took place on 22 May in Mbanza-Ngungu and on 23 May in Mbuji-Mayi, according to an official communiqué.

The cause of the demonstrations seems to be foreign radios broadcasting unconfirmed and baseless news on incidents at the Lubumbashi university campus. The sensationalist exploitation of news by foreign radios thus

prompted the reaction of the Mbanza-Ngungu (?university) students who stormed the streets in protest marches of solidarity. The demonstrators forced secondary and primary school children to join them and the marches degenerated into the looting of banking and business establishments. Even a school was ransacked. Today order and tranquillity have returned in Mbanza-Ngungu.

Meanwhile, on Wednesday students in Mbuji-Mayi followed their counterparts by organizing a similar demonstration, also forcing secondary and primary school children to join in and thereafter engage in looting. In Mbuji-Mayi, as in Mbanza-Ngungu, banks and shops were looted. Some public [word indistinct] were also ransacked.

We however deplore the death in Mbuji-Mayi of a young boy [words indistinct] who fell [word indistinct] during the demonstration. The boy died shortly after being taken to the hospital. [passage omitted]

University Teachers List Demands

EA2505202290 Lubumbashi Domestic Service
in French 1630 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Lecturers at Lubumbashi University have issued a memorandum to the rector, in which they set a number of conditions for the resumption of classes at the university. The lecturers believe that a minimum period of at least two months to (?show) everybody [words indistinct] the tragic events. They asked the Executive Council to compensate the boarding students and ensure the return of the students by train. The lecturers also proposed setting up a commission of inquiry to reveal the source of the problems and suggest solutions. For their own part, they asked in particular for the full implementation of the salary scale agreed upon following their meeting with the president of the Republic. Supporting the claims of the students, the university lecturers expressed a desire that scholarships be (?given) to all students.

Finally the teaching body (?suggested) the creation of an association of teachers to pursue the defense of their rights, one which would be an autonomous association, independent from academic authority. The lecturers also demanded the rehabilitation of the damaged infrastructures before classes resume in addition to the suggestion [words indistinct] for the whole Lubumbashi University teaching staff.

The memorandum, which had copies addressed to the president of the Republic, the president of the Legislative Council, and first state commissioner, the state commissioner for higher education, universities, scientific research institutes, and the organs of all the regions, was signed by 196 teachers at Lubumbashi University.

Students Continue Class Boycott

EA2505205590 Lubumbashi Domestic Service
in French 1630 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Despite the many calls made by the authorities for the resumption of classes and despite the assurances of the urban commissioner on the security of children, the primary and secondary school students have remained firm in their position of refusal.

According to some sources, about half of the students have already vacated the university campus. The [word indistinct] stations, the airport, and (Lwano) are full of students who feel that insecurity still prevails on campus.

Haut-Zaire Governor Wants 'Calm'

AB2605184690 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1320 GMT
26 May 90

[Text] Kisangani, 24 May (AZAP)—The governor of the Haut-Zaire Region, Professor Samba Kaputo, has called on Kinsangani students for calm and confidence in the academic authorities. He was speaking at a meeting on 21 May in his office with a delegation of final year students and the management committee of this university institution. The meeting was held to dissipate [words indistinct] the management committee on the one hand and the final year students on the other hand, concerning the payment of bursary awards and the contribution of the Executive Council to the payment of fees for professional training as well as study projects following their training.

The vice chancellor of Kisangani University (UNIKIS), Professor Mwabila Malela, and the manager of the Bank of Zaire, who took part in the talks, gave all the necessary details concerning the payment of fees for professional training. They stressed that the money received for the payment of the fees will require an additional 7,457,300 zaires. Governor Samba Kaputo expressed his concern over problems facing education in the Haut-Zaire. He also called on the representatives of the final year students of the UNIKIS to exercise patience in awaiting the outcome of the promise made by the vice first state commissioner in charge of territorial administration and decentralization during his recent visit to Kisangani, a promise relating to his personal intervention with the top hierarchy in order to find solutions to the various problems facing the University of Kisangani.

For his part, Prof. Mwabila Malela, the vice chancellor of UNIKIS, expressed indignation over the behavior of his students, thus demonstrating that they lack confidence in him despite his permanent concern to lift the prestige of the university since he was appointed to head the institution four years ago, he said.

Foreign Minister on Events

AB2605160090 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1325 GMT
26 May 90

[Text] Kinshasa, 24 May [date as received] (AZAP)—The Executive Council is determined to shed light on the events that occurred on the Lubumbashi campus. Foreign Affairs State Commissioner Mushobekwa Kalimba wa Katana affirmed this on 23 May at the Red Room of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs while addressing ambassadors and heads of diplomatic missions as well as representatives of international organizations accredited to Zaire.

The Legislative Council, State Commissioner Mushobekwa stated, will also use all lawful means in its power to enlighten the people on the issue, as well as on the situation that prevailed in particular in Bukavu and in Kisangani.

He later recalled the circumstances of the events which, according to him, were a mere fight between students, a fight following which three students suspected of being intelligence agents of the governor of the Shaba Region were wounded. The state commissioner for foreign affairs, who said that the agitation was part of the growing democracy in Zaire, criticized the international media for media romanticism and called on foreign news agencies and radio stations to concentrate more on Zaire's march toward democracy.

Touching again on the events that occurred recently in some of the country's institutions of higher education, State Commissioner Mushobekwa said they were related to the students' material problems which are already being looked into by the Executive Council. Added to these problems, he said, was the impatience of youths of this age group to see the changes announced on 24 April realized.

The Executive Council cannot accept anarchy in the country, he stressed. He stated that during this period of democratization, the Zairian people need an experienced pilot.

Government Reacts to Loan Freeze

AB2605140390 Paris AFP in English 1343 GMT
26 May 90

[Text] Kinshasa, May 26 (AFP)—A student was trampled to death in more demonstrations by Zairean university students this week in two provincial cities, the official news agency AZAP reported Saturday. Also Saturday, the Zairian Government reacted angrily to a decision by Belgium to freeze new loans to Zaire and suspend certain cooperation agreements as a result of the Lubumbashi incidents.

"The decision to impose an immediate freeze on loans to Zaire and to suspend preparations for the Belgian-Zairian joint cooperation commission demonstrate the Belgian Government's ill-will," a statement said. The

statement said Belgium, the former colonial power, was trying to "undermine Zaire's development and its evolution towards more democracy." The Belgian decision, announced Friday, is a major setback in efforts to improve relations between Belgium and Zaire which normalised their links in March after a long period of acrimony.

The agency said the student died on Tuesday at Mbuji Mayi, the diamond-mining capital of eastern Kasai Province, about 600 kilometers (370 miles) east of here. AZAP said the students had turned out to show solidarity with students in Lubumbashi after reports in the foreign media that about 50 students had been massacred there by guards of President Mobutu Sese Seko on May 11. The agency said the Mbuji Mayi demonstrators had smashed the windows of shops and banks in the city and 41 students were arrested by police.

On Wednesday, a similar demonstration took place at Mbanza-Ngungu in Lower-Zaire Province, about 100 kilometers (60 miles) west of Kinshasa. AZAP said in what were the first reports on the protests.

The government of Zaire has ordered a probe into the incidents at Lubumbashi, the country's second biggest city 1,500 kilometers (nearly 8,000 miles) from the capital. It has denied there was any massacre calling the allegations "lies and slanders." Foreign Minister Mushobekwa Kalimba Wa Katana, at a meeting Thursday with diplomats and representatives of international organisations accredited in Kinshasa, described the Lubumbashi incidents as merely "a battle between students." The minister, quoted by AZAP, said "these clashes between students left one dead and 14 injured, three seriously."

Zairean students have announced the formation of a union to fight "the dictatorial and monarchy-type" regime established since April 24 by President Mobutu. At that date, President Mobutu turned Zaire from a one-party to a three-party system although he said he would remain as head of state "over and above all the parties."

In a communique issued in Brazzaville, Congo, students from the Higher Institute of Applied Technology (ISTA) in Kinshasa said the new Progressive Union of Zairean Students and Pupils (UPEZa) would be a "spokesman for Zairian youth." The communique urged young people in Zaire "to continue a boycott of school classes" to protest the Lubumbashi incidents in which it said about 100 students had died. The communique said UPEZa would hold its founding congress before the end of this year. The students appealed to members of the European Economic Community to cancel all its projects with the Mobutu regime.

In the same vein, the opposition Kongolese Workers Party (POK) announced it supported the Belgian decision to freeze cooperation with Zaire.

Further on 'Violence'

*AB2605162590 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1521 GMT
26 May 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 24 May [date as received] (AZAP)—Acts of violence were perpetrated on the afternoon of 23 May against the Brussels office of the ZAIRIAN NEWS AGENCY [AZAP] by about 50 people belonging to what is usually described as the Zairian opposition in Belgium, following a demonstration in the Belgian capital. Also joining the group were some Belgian nationals, including Ronald van den Bogaert, who was arrested and detained for some years in Zaire for plotting against the internal security of the Republic.

The demonstrators attacked and pillaged technical equipment. There were no victims among the staff of the news agency, but the damage was significant. The Brussels public prosecution has opened an investigation into the matter.

Executive Council Communique

*AB2605175390 Kinshasa AZAP in French 1530 GMT
26 May 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, 25 May [date as received] (AZAP)—In reaction to the measures announced by a communique published today by the Belgian Kingdom's Council of Ministers concerning in particular the immediate freezing of state loans meant for Zaire and the suspension of preparations for the meeting of the Belgium-Zaire joint commission slated for next June, the Executive Council has in turn published the following communique:

The Executive Council of the Republic of Zaire has just learned with surprise and indignation about the decisions made by the Belgian Government at the cabinet meeting of Friday, 25 May, to freeze part of the Belgium-Zaire cooperation agreement and to postpone deliberations of the Belgium-Zaire joint commission slated for June, 1990 in Brussels.

These decisions, which were made after the statement of Marc Eyskens to a Belgian radio and reported by international media, have clearly shown the ill will of the Belgian Government, which, instead of contributing to the Executive Council's efforts in the democratization process launched on the historic date of 24 April 1990, has engaged in a pernicious and undermining game aimed at discrediting the budding Third Republic's institutions.

This unfriendly attitude, which is reminiscent of paternalism and neo-colonialism, which we thought had been buried for good, is a new demonstration of the dishonesty of the Belgian authorities whenever Zaire, independently and sovereignly, chooses for itself political options that are in line with the legitimate aspirations of its people. These decisions and the statement of the Belgian minister of foreign affairs, which after all are astonishing, were made after the clarifications provided

by the commissioner of state for foreign affairs on 24 May to all members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Kinshasa. These clarifications were made after the report presented to the Legislative Council by First State Commissioner Professor Lunda Bululu, who called on this body to debate [words indistinct] the incident occurred in student circles in Lubumbashi, as well as Bukavu and Kisangani.

The decisions and statements of the Belgian authorities have prompted the Executive Council to make the following observations:

1. Zaire, a law-abiding state, strongly and contemptuously denounces the lying and slanderous statements broadcast from Belgium and repeated by the Belgian minister of foreign affairs.
2. The Executive Council, through these statements and measures of the Belgian Government, once again notes the usual strategy of the former colonial power aimed at discrediting Zaire with the international community and mainly with the 12 countries of the Common Market.
3. The decision of the Belgian Government to freeze the administrative measures aimed at granting state-to-state loans for 1989 and not to commit itself to facilitate those of 1990 is a clear demonstration of the deliberate will of the Belgian authorities to frustrate Zaire's development efforts and to intentionally hamper the ongoing process of democratization.
4. Thus, the national and international public will have obvious proof of the nostalgic intentions of the Belgian authorities to run the national affairs of Zaire from Brussels.
5. Zaire, whatever low blows and other sordid maneuvers it may be subjected to, has during the course of its history learned to know who its friends are and will determinedly succeed in overcoming this new obstacle and achieve its freely selected objectives.

Priests Question Campus Violence

*AB2805131290 Paris AFP in English 1255 GMT
28 May 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, May 28 (AFP)—Catholic clergy in Zaire's second city Lubumbashi have queried the official account of violent incidents at the university here two weeks ago.

In a pastoral letter distributed at Sunday Mass and signed by 40 priests, the clerics criticized "the fact of killing without any form of trial, the cruelty of the methods used, the spirit of vengeance and tribalism resulting, and the prolonged silence of the Zairian media which encouraged an atmosphere of uncontrollable rumours".

In the official version stated by Shaba Province Government Governor Koyagialo Ngbabe te Gerengbo, one

person was killed and 13 injured, three seriously, during clashes among rival student factions.

But press reports in Zambia and Belgium, citing witnesses, reported that from 50 to 150 undergraduates were slaughtered by crack Presidential Guards.

The priests' letter asked why security forces ringing the campus had not intervened at once to stop the clashes, and why so many families were reporting people missing if most of the casualties were only injured.

The letter said the trouble began on May 10 when students on campus discovered 23 of their number had been "eliminated" over a period of years, and set on three suspects "in an inhuman manner". Security forces took up position the next day and that night the power was cut. Shortly before midnight, "a commando from elsewhere with a precise list of victims to attack" set about students with knives and pangas, the letter recounted, citing witnesses.

The methods used were evidence that the men were "especially well trained in murderous operations", the letter commented.

Mubandaka Students Demonstrate

*EA2805211890 Lubumbashi Domestic Service
in French 1630 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] According to the national radio order was restored today in Mbandaka after the student demonstration held on 25 May. On their way, the students of the [word indistinct] Mbandaka did serious damage to shops and financial companies. The same source indicates that (?during) the demonstration, a student was seriously injured. [Words indistinct], was picked up after having been arrested in the act in [words indistinct] shop. Moreover, a woman who was two months (?pregnant) was trapped in the crush and nearly had a miscarriage.

No Incidents in Workers Strike

*EA2705211490 Lubumbashi Domestic Service
in French 1630 GMT 28 May 90*

[Text] In the Shaba Region, Lubumbashi workers did not go to work this morning. [Words indistinct] in circulation during the weekend, calling on all workers to go on a 24-hour strike today, 28 May, in protest against the recent events on the Lubumbashi University campus. The same demonstration was seen in (?Lukashi). Shops, public and private firms, and state departments did not open their doors. Markets closed shortly after having opened.

No major incident was reported. Security forces surrounded the town and guarded the most strategic places to guard against any eventualities. [Words indistinct] to yield to the evidence: the new school year did not begin this morning as requested by the urban authorities in a communiqué broadcast many times on our radio this morning.

We have just learned from our permanent correspondent in [word indistinct] that the final year students at secondary schools took their protests onto the streets this afternoon. The demonstration started in the [word indistinct] technical school. The students demonstrated following a rumor circulating [words indistinct] on the cancellation of state exams this year at [word indistinct]. The demonstration was held in an orderly manner.

Students, Police Clash 28 May

*AB2905083690 Paris AFP in English 0129 GMT
29 May 90*

[Text] Kinshasa, May 29 (AFP)—A new student demonstration ended in clashes with security forces at the Zairian capital's university Monday, leaving two students and two policemen injured, though not seriously, official sources said.

They said university students in Kinshasa, who are out of class because of an ongoing professors' strike, had organized a demonstration Monday morning in solidarity with students in Lubumbashi, after the recent violence there.

Official reports on the May 11 incident in that southeastern town, the capital of the mineral-rich province of Shaba, said one student died.

But press reports in Zambia and Belgium, citing witnesses, have reported that from 50 to 150 undergraduates were slaughtered when crack presidential guards—described as President Mobutu Sese Seko personal bodyguards—entered the campus to quell student protests.

The Monday clashes here broke out after security forces moved in to disperse the demonstration, leaving the four injured. The source said during the clash, some of the students reportedly seized several arms from the security forces and have refused to hand them in.

Meanwhile the governor of Shaba Province again confirmed the official casualty toll of one dead and 13 injured in the May 11 incident there, in an interview on national television.

Governor Koyagialo Ngababe te Gerengbo again blamed the violence on a fight between rival student factions. He also said that his information showed that no commando could have been sent in from Kinshasa to Lubumbashi.

Mr. Koyagialo said two inquiry committees, including one composed of Zaire deputies, were in the Shaba capital to look into the bloodshed there.

De Klerk Expresses 'Satisfaction' With Tour

*MB2505153590 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 25 May 90*

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, has expressed general satisfaction with his European tour after ending it by meeting the Italian president, Mr. Francesco Cossiga, and the prime minister, Mr. Giulio Andreotti, in Rome.

President de Klerk told a news conference in Rome that his reception in Italy had been very friendly and that he had found great interest in events in South Africa within Italian Government circles. He had not detected any support for the ANC's [African National Congress] policy of nationalization. President de Klerk also met influential businessmen in Italy.

He leaves Italy tonight and is expected at Jan Smuts Airport at about 1000 [0800 GMT] tomorrow morning.

Gives News Conference in Italy

*MB2605080890 Johannesburg Television Service
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 25 May 90*

[Excerpts] State President F.W. de Klerk ended his nine-nation European tour with a visit to Italy. President de Klerk and his party left Rome for South Africa about two hours ago. Clarence Keyter reports on President de Klerk's tour:

[Begin recording] [Keyter] President de Klerk and his entourage arrived at (Champino) military airport, outside Rome, last night. Admittedly, this arrival did not compare to the elegance of arrivals in some of the other countries, but it was a proud and relieved state president who alighted from the plane for his working visit. [passage omitted]

The president expressed his impressions on his visit to Italy and the rest of Europe at a news conference.

[De Klerk] Ladies and gentlemen, we have come to the end of our whole tour. Nine countries have been visited; if we include talks with President Houphouet-Boigny in the middle of the night, then I have held talks with ten government heads of state.

I also met with state officials in most countries except England. The tour was comprehensive and created broad opportunities for in-depth talks. South Africa's case was presented. We explained the process taking place in South and southern Africa and underlined the irreversibility of this process. As a result, we insist there should be fundamental reconsideration of opinions and attitudes toward South Africa.

We were received with warmth and friendliness everywhere, and it was indeed a tour that offered an opportunity to promote South Africa's interests, based on noninterference in our affairs and on trying to remove misconceptions. I believe we succeeded in removing many misconceptions.

I was impressed by the fact that eventually, as a result of the dynamics in South Africa, the misconceptions have already been eliminated, and I could almost consolidate the conclusions reached by the European states as a result of the actions and decisions within South Africa. I have no doubt that the whole of Europe is now looking at South Africa with new eyes, realizing that whatever may be happening in Europe is very important and that South Africa, with its potential, really as the result of South Africa's infrastructure, its healthy strong economic system, has a role to play in the development and future of southern Africa. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Notes 'Substantial Changes'

*MB2605094590 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0942 GMT 26 May 90*

[Text] Johannesburg May 26 SAPA—Substantial changes in Europe's relations with South Africa will be forthcoming, state President F.W. de Klerk said on Saturday morning after returning from his European tour.

"I expect Europe will in the months to come—maybe sooner—show this new approach," Mr de Klerk said at Jan Smuts Airport. Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha returned at 10am [0800 GMT] from an 18-day, nine-nation tour of Western Europe.

Mr de Klerk warned, however, not to expect "dramatic" changes in the near future from Western Europe. In some European countries—"not only one or two—sanctions are crumbling", he said. As for the rest of the European community, they realised that South Africa was changing fundamentally.

"They realise changes in South Africa were inevitable, but preferred to move to the ending of sanctions through the structures of the European Community.

"But the road for normal relations is open. This trip has made a major contribution in the way to removing stumbling blocks to new relations with South Africa. That stumbling block is being removed."

In the final instance, said Mr de Klerk, the future of South Africa would be determined within the country by its citizens.

"South Africa's pride has been restored," he said.

Mr de Klerk and his entourage were greeted by more than 1,000 people, waving South African flags, banners and wearing stickers saying "I Love F.W."

He was met on arrival by the acting state president, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who is also minister of constitutional affairs, and was met on the tarmac by a military band playing the national anthem.

Mr de Klerk, who looked tired but happy, was greeted enthusiastically by the crowd who gave him a red-carpet welcome to the strains of song sung by a police choir from Soweto.

Notes 'Moral' Changes Taking Place

MB2605121590 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] The state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, says the tide has turned not only in South Africa but also in Europe, which now considers South Africa as a potential partner in stabilizing the subcontinent. A large crowd, including the cabinet and many members of Parliament, welcomed President de Klerk at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Europe.

President de Klerk said the moral foundation of changes taking place in South Africa had enabled him to face European leaders squarely. There were already signs of a change in attitude towards South Africa, which could be seen in the disintegration of sanctions.

President de Klerk said that Europe was also caught up in a process of change and that the continent accepted that South Africa had to find an agreement of cooperation that ensured participation of citizens at all levels with the protection of minority groups. He asked South Africans to accept the government's good intentions and to build on a communal loyalty of which everyone could be proud.

De Klerk Announces Postponement of U.S. Visit

MB2905151190 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] The state president's visit to the United States has been postponed. President F.W. de Klerk said in a news release in Cape Town that he planned to go to the United States for in-depth discussions with President George Bush and congressional, civic, and American business leaders on the situation in South and southern Africa. He said that owing to a controversy that had arisen in the United States on the timing of the visit next month, and because certain matters would require his personal attention in the next few weeks, he had decided to postpone the visit.

Mandela Not To Be Released Before 31 May

MB2905153990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1532 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] Johannesburg, May 29, SAPA—ANC [African National Council] Deputy President Mr. Nelson Mandela will not be discharged before Thursday [31 May] from the private Johannesburg clinic where he is recuperating after a minor operation, the hospital said on Tuesday afternoon.

Park Lane Clinic General Manager Dr. Gordon Cohen said he was waiting for Mrs. Winnie Mandela to come back to hospital when he hopes to announce what operation was performed on Mr. Mandela.

"Mr. Mandela won't be discharged today or tomorrow," Dr. Cohen told waiting journalists and television crews.

"He is mainly resting before he leaves on Monday (June 4) for Europe," he added.

He earlier confirmed the African National Congress leader had undergone a minor operation on Monday.

Neither Dr. Cohen or Mrs. Mandela—who spent more than five hours with her husband on Tuesday—were prepared to divulge details of the operation on Mr. Mandela.

Meanwhile, security has been tight in and around the private clinic.

Just after 3 PM there was a flurry of security activity around the hospital, including the searching of flower beds.

"It is just a bit of crowd control," said the hospital security head, who declined to be named.

"We are just making sure everything is under control ... everything is under control, the security is very tight inside."

Mandela 'Rally' Crowd Reportedly Small

MB2605102790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1024 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Pretoria May 26 SAPA—About 15,000 people have already streamed into the Super Stadium at Attridgeville, west of Pretoria, for a rally to be addressed by ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela on Saturday afternoon.

By shortly after noon, there were still big gaps in the metal tiered stands surrounding the football pitch from where Mr. Mandela is to make his address. Despite the relatively small attendance, the stands reverberated as groups of youths danced on them, stamping on the metal seating.

Security by ANC marshals was extremely tight and all vehicles entering the stadium grounds, and their occupants, were thoroughly searched.

There was no visible police presence.

Urges Whites To Support De Klerk

MB2605162090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1609 GMT 26 May 90

[Text] Pretoria May 26 SAPA—Whites were exhorted to support State President F.W. de Klerk's reform move, although the ANC [African National Congress] did not see his progress as fast enough.

This was said by ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela to about 60,000 people who packed the Super Stadium at Attridgeville on Saturday afternoon to hear him speak.

Mr Mandela called Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope a "little tyrant" and likened him to Hitler, saying the people would also cause his downfall.

Referring to a Conservative Party [CP] rally held over the hill to the Atteridgeville event, Mr Mandela accused CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht of fomenting white sentiment against the moves for peace made by the ANC and the SA Government.

Speaking of a meeting he held with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, Mr Mandela felt he was doing what he could to defuse racial conflict in Welkom and other specific areas in the country, but was not doing enough to promote national harmony.

He referred to Defence Minister General Magnus Malan who, following a denouncement by Mr Mandela earlier this week, made "unintelligible remarks", which did not surprise the ANC leader. Mr Mandela said he was not surprised that the general was not named as part of the government negotiating team for talks with the ANC.

"These are not the days of Malan, but the days of the people," Mr Mandela said to sustained loud whistles and applause.

Mr Mandela called for peace among the black liberation groups and exhorted them to speak about their grievances or differences face to face, rather than taking complaints to the media.

At this stage of South Africa's development there was need for unity among blacks as the struggle against apartheid was the same for all groups concerned.

Mr Mandela warned, however, that the ANC's patience "might soon wear thin".

The members of the ANC's armed wing, umkhonto we sizwe, were fighters and heroes.

"We don't fear talking peace. ... if the government does not respond we will fight again," he said to sustained applause.

Mr Mandela said the apartheid structure was still in place and Mr de Klerk had moved the debate on negotiations about talks to Europe.

Mr Mandela renewed a call for sanctions to continue, saying he would next week be visiting almost the same heads of state in Europe as Mr de Klerk had in the past 18 days, and would ask that punitive measures against South Africa remain in place until apartheid in all its forms had been done away with.

On the subject of negotiations, the ANC leader called for the same privileges as the National Party Government in getting a mandate from the people.

"The government can go to the whites to ask for a mandate. Our leaders are in exile or in prison.

"We want the same rights as the government. "Our leaders must return, our prisoners must be released so we can get a mandate from them."

He said the ANC was calling for the unconditional return of its exiles—numbering about 20,000—and the immediate release of all political prisoners including those under sentence of death.

At the beginning of his speech, Mr Mandela said he was happy to be speaking in Pretoria although the word was "synonymous with apartheid".

He praised the "heroic young lions who laid down their lives when they took over a bank in Silverton (near Pretoria) to demand my release".

Mr Mandela said the ANC felt Mr de Klerk was slow in working for a non-racial South Africa, although the president had the courage to say apartheid was an evil and a danger to South Africa.

Mr de Klerk also had the courage to talk to the ANC, which the National Party and the government had demonised in the past.

28 May Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2805100090

[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY STAR

De Klerk Must Back European Message With Action— "While the right fears the future and its unknowns and calls for a hasty return to the distant past, the Left fears the same past and calls for a quantum leap into the future," says a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR in English on 27 May. "Caught in the middle is President de Klerk who, to his credit, wasted no time yesterday telling the Right that his programme is irreversible and unstoppable. His immediate task now is to drag the Right screaming along the reformist path, and to convince the Left that reform is not another clever ploy by his Government to retain control in white hands. Mr de Klerk's message to European leaders that no special protection of minority privileges was being planned by the Government was a fine one which must now be backed solidly by actions." "Apartheid is a dream which could not be fulfilled even in Verwoerd's day, and a nightmare from which South Africa must quickly recover before it is too late." "Yesterday's fear could still be sufficiently allayed and hope nurtured instead to be translated into the difference between war and peace."

SUNDAY TIMES

ANC Talks With Business 'Generally Conciliatory'— "Just as it represents progress that the ANC [African National Congress] and the Government are talking to each other, so is it highly desirable that a revolutionary

movement which is slowly learning to acquire the habits of a political party should engage in dialogue with leaders of business. If nothing else, it is mutually educative," observes a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 27 May. "The tone of this week's encounter was generally conciliatory and, to judge from sketchy accounts, there was agreement on such fundamentals as the indispensability of economic growth and the need to promote investor confidence by recognising entitlement to property and profits. Indeed, the ANC—though still disquietingly committed to interventionism—gives an impression that it has modified its ideas on nationalisation which so alarmed investors. Mr Mandela was wise to reassure the audience at home—as well as anxious observers abroad—that his economic vocabulary runs to words other than state control." "Mr Mandela's concern about the flight of capital is puzzling. It comes strangely from someone who advocates sanctions—one of the chief reasons (especially since loans dried up) why we have become a capital exporting country. Perhaps once he visits the European capitals from which President de Klerk has just returned, his insight into such matters will improve. The gaps remain wide between those who talk in terms of a First World economy and those who have Third World political needs. But, as in politics, so in economics. In the former, power must be shared. In the latter, wealth must be created before it can be shared."

De Klerk May 'Wisely' Postpone U.S. Visit—A second editorial on the same page reads: "It seems that President de Klerk will—wisely—postpone his visit to Washington. The importance of the trip (postponed once before when the State Department and the White House couldn't get their ducks in a row) would be diminished by controversy that is not of Mr de Klerk's making. Postponement means neither a loss of face nor a setback for reform. It became virtually inevitable once the visit became entangled in labyrinthian workings of American domestic politics. Whether by accident or design, the dates for visits to the U.S. by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela were scheduled back to back. Luminaries in the anti-apartheid industry (perhaps sensing that their grip on careers was slipping) and black American politicians with their own domestic agendas were quick to elevate a non-issue—who takes precedence in the Oval Office—into a controversy. Mr de Klerk returned from Europe only yesterday with enough political capital to last him for months. Why risk taking the bloom off that trip by becoming embroiled in a made-in-America fuss? The invitation from President Bush stands. Take it up later."

THE STAR

Right Wing Proves No More Than 'Nuisance'—A page 20 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 28 May reads: "The rhetoric would have surprised no one, but this weekend brought South Africa's opposing political camps into sharper relief. President de Klerk, returning from what seems to have been a successful visit to Europe, promised that the movement to a new South Africa was irreversible; Mr Mandela, addressing a rally

outside Pretoria, emphasised both the ANC resistance to elements in government and the differences on his own flank; and Dr Treurnicht declared the start of the 'Third Freedom Struggle' to staunch supporters at a somewhat anti-climactic rally at the Voortrekker Monument. Most interest focused on the third event. The true strength of the right wing is a matter of keen concern. Does it have the power to slow the tide that is eroding apartheid by the day? On Saturday's [26 May] evidence, probably not. It clearly has the power to be a considerable nuisance—even a menace—but that is not the same thing. The turn-out was nowhere near as massive as some right-wing sources had predicted. The occasion, despite the bombast and smouldering anger, seemed somewhat lacklustre; not the incendiary moment that would set the country ablaze. But, most of all, the ultimate failure was enshrined in the vow that was endorsed by the crowd. This vow had two prongs. The first claimed the right 'to rule ourselves in our own fatherland'. The second promised that the oath-takers would 'fight to restore that which had already been given away'. It is possible to feel some sympathy for this doubting band of diehards. After all, they are fighting for no more than their own Government promised them for 40 years and more. Indeed, if it were possible to give them a fatherland, then that might be a solution to what may become an intractable problem. But Dr Verwoerd's notion of a white fatherland has been tried—and it has failed grandly. South Africa's vibrant, motley population simply cannot be separated into neat compartments. They need each other. Dr Treurnicht's people are longing for the unattainable. They are also trying to call back a failed past. What has 'been given away' is, quite simply, something that is morally and practically quite impossible to hold on to, racial supremacy."

De Klerk's Tour Pressures Government Decisions—"The effect of President de Klerk's European tour, successful flag-waving that it undoubtedly was, must surely be to increase the pressure on the Government to set the final scene for the dismantling of any remaining semblance of apartheid," reads a second editorial on the same page. "If he is hoping to counteract the pro-sanctions message of ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela's impending tour of Europe, Mr de Klerk should feel impelled to make immediate further announcements that will leave no further doubt of his genuine intentions," including announcements on an amnesty for political prisoners and on a "different strategy to control unrest" so as to lift the state of emergency. "If Mr de Klerk can do these things, and extract a constructive response from the EC, his tour will have proved its worth. Until then, the rewards will still be in doubt, whatever favourable impression he may have made."

BUSINESS DAY

De Klerk Needs 'Adroit Handling' To Transform Right, Left—"The three faces of the new South Africa on view at the weekend illustrate, if illustration is needed, that after President de Klerk's triumphant return from

Europe, the conquerer of foreign bastions has much work to do at home," warns a page 6 editorial in Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 28 May. "The white right feels threatened by the reforms which opened doors for President de Klerk. The ANC believes reform is not going swiftly enough, while its repetitious rhetoric about armed struggle only adds to the unease on the right. Neither need be an obstacle to continued progress; with adroit handling they can be turned into challenge and opportunity. For President de Klerk, the foreign front is secure. He has done enough to persuade foreign leaders that he is not going back on the changes he has made, and that more reforms are to come."

ANC Must Make Investor Confidence Priority—A second editorial on the same page reads: "If the ANC's economic advisers look at the multitude of foreign exchange frauds caused by exploitation of the financial rand, they will see not a bunch of greedy, criminal capitalists but a warning. The financial rand was introduced at a time of instability to prevent capital flight. It is an imperfect mechanism, open to abuse as the courts and current criminal investigations have shown. To abolish it would cause a hugely inflationary devaluation of the rand; retaining it gives some protection to the currency but offers criminal temptation because of the millions to be made illegally on the difference between the commercial and financial rands. The temptation will continue while the finrand exists; the finrand will continue while capital flight is threatened; capital flight will remain a threat until there is sufficient confidence in this country and its currency. Unless the ANC wishes to become part of a government administering a dual-currency system, investor confidence must become a priority. That means policies which ensure social stability, protect capital and property, ensure a return on investment and promote economic growth. Nelson Mandela made a start at last week's meeting with businessmen; if he fails to cross those Rubicons the penalties could include capital flight or a system that makes wealthy criminals."

DIE BURGER

Mandela Fails To Fulfill Groote Schuur Agreement—"The government and the ANC have agreed on a joint commitment to remove the present climate of violence and intimidation from whatever source, as well as a commitment to stability and the process of peaceful negotiation." So reads the preamble to the Groote Schuur declaration, issued after the historic talks between these two parties at the beginning of May," reminds a page 16 editorial in Cape Town *DIE BURGER* in Afrikaans on 22 May. "It is fair to ask whether Mandela's statements in Cairo this week are not diametrically opposed to the above undertaking. He said, inter alia, that the ANC is prepared to agree to a cease-fire provided the government 'takes serious steps to dismantle apartheid.' He added: 'We are ready to consider ending hostilities but not the armed struggle.'" "If Mandela really means the ANC is not prepared to end the armed struggle under any circumstances, he fails to help 'remove the present

climate of violence from whatever source.' This could serve as grist for the mill of the younger generation of black perpetrators of violence; it can also serve as an excuse for certain far-right groups to continue with their violent speeches and actions, a dreadful prospect."

'Overoptimism' on De Klerk Tour Can Prove 'Dangerous'—"President F. W. de Klerk has repeated during his European tour that he has not gone to beg for favors, hat in hand. Although he has called for a reevaluation of the South African situation, he is clearly careful not to arouse exaggerated expectations back home," observes a second editorial on the same page. "A feeling of overoptimism among South Africans over the hearty European welcomes the state president has encountered can be dangerous indeed. President de Klerk and Minister Pik Botha are working hard to improve the climate toward South Africa, but that does not in the least mean that the hurdles will disappear overnight." "The harsh fact is that South Africa is not of dominant interest to Europe, particularly at this stage; events in Eastern Europe are. The West dare not ignore the fact that South Africa is the pivot for the economies of a whole lot of countries on the subcontinent and that every country in Africa trades with South Africa. It does not help to pat black Africa on the back while its people are starving. This fact will eventually have to be accepted".

Leave Protection Duties to Police—"It's time tough measures were taken against people and institutions who want to take the law into their own hands, especially in light of the volatile circumstances in South Africa, in the interest of clarifying who's in charge," asserts a page 18 editorial in *DIE BURGER* on 23 May. "Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's stand on the issue in Parliament yesterday is most timely." "The job of maintaining law and order and protecting the country's citizens should be left to the police, with help from the army if possible. These forces were able to execute their duties when the unrest was worse than it is today."

ANC Rhetoric Affects Climate of Peace—"The chances for clearing the road to genuine constitutional negotiations improved this week" after "President de Klerk told an overseas news conference that the joint ANC-government task force reached consensus on the issue of political prisoners and exiles," observes a second editorial on the same page. "The ANC's rhetoric, from which Nelson Mandela does not want to desist, also affects the anticipated climate of peace." "One of the other so-called obstacles is the state of emergency, which the government finds very difficult to lift in some parts of the country. If all political parties could commit themselves to peaceful negotiation, the day of the big conference would dawn very fast."

BEELD

New Local Government System Demands Thought—"The future system of local government power sharing Minister Hernus Kriel referred to in Parliament on 21 May is a goal that will not easily be met," warns a page

12 editorial in Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 23 May. "The present system clearly does not work well, mainly because the black councillors seldom enjoy political credibility and because these areas have virtually no business sectors. What must it be replaced with? Simply to place black residential areas under the municipal jurisdiction of the nearest white municipality with the stroke of a pen is a possible solution, but there are doubts about this kind of logic." "Those residents who wish to adhere to an existing municipality will have to be accommodated through negotiation under the principle that existing rights (note: not privileges) are not endangered. A new local government system is going to demand almost as much thought as a new system of central government."

Mandela Shows 'Disturbing Lack of Insight' on Police—

"It is in everyone's interest that Welkom violence be brought under control and the situation normalized," says a second editorial on the same page. "Only the trigger happy and the arsonists benefit, and they are not interested in a negotiated solution for Welkom nor for South Africa. The last 10 days on that goldfield have shown where that approach can lead. Both sides involved resorted to violence to a greater or lesser extent." "As always, the police had to move in to try to save what could still be saved. Unfortunately, it seems they also can make mistakes, albeit under serious provocation. However, to roar at them, as Nelson Mandela has done, does not help; indeed, it reflects a disturbing lack of insight from one of the key figures in South African negotiations. Welkom shows what can happen to this country if we do not find one another at the negotiating table."

ANC, Government Dwarf Dialogue Partners' Roles—

"South Africa's constitutional debate has recently been dominated by two participants: the government and the ANC," affirms a third editorial on the same page. "The views of smaller, and perhaps equally important, dialogue partners have been dwarfed in the process. We refer specifically to the loose grouping of the Pan-Africanist Congress; the Azanian People's Organization; the Black Consciousness Movement; and the newly formed Workers' Organization for Socialist Action, which despite minor differences, underwrites the same nonnegotiable democratic (sic) goal, namely a socialist dispensation with the political power and control of South Africa's wealth (and land) in the hands of the black working class. It may be argued that this grouping merely exercises pure reflex rhetoric." "Protest from left or right against a negotiated settlement may not prevent an internal settlement, but it can certainly hamper it to no end."

Mandela Must Abandon 'Obsolete Economic Views'—

"Nelson Mandela's address to a group of Johannesburg businessmen" on 23 May "improved prospects for setting up an acceptable economic system in due time," claims a page 10 editorial in BEELD on 25 May. "He and the ANC clearly recognize opposing views and

consider them when forming their policies." "It is particularly encouraging that the question of nationalization formed but a small part of Mandela's official address." "The most unsatisfactory part of his speech was that he felt it necessary to complain about capital flight from South Africa, yet still supports sanctions. Loan sanctions have made this country a capital exporter, harming Mandela's supporters more than anyone else. His earlier nationalization statements shocked domestic and foreign confidence, and even spurred emigration. While we understand the role of political rhetoric and the fact that he must retain the confidence of the masses, in the long run he will lose this unless he now starts contributing to economic recovery. Only when he distances himself further from obsolete economic views and speaks out against sanctions will that confidence begin to return."

Multiple Economic Interest Considerations 'Encouraging'—

Columnist Willie Kuhn writes in his "Political Beeld" column on the same page: "Thank goodness South Africa's 'liberation' differs from so many others in Africa. Most other countries threw off the yoke of colonialism through civil war or other forms of strife, with the transfer of power under pressure." "A limited civil war has been waged in South Africa, but not to the point that one can speak of winners or losers." "South Africa's situation is also unique in Africa in that it involves the first example of an in-depth economic debate going hand in hand with the debate on political democratization, allowing the focus to shift to a totally new system rather than just to a transfer of power or power-sharing so the needs of a modern state and its citizens can become completely distorted." "The ANC in the past weeks has started indicating it does not see nationalization as a nonnegotiable and all-consuming ideological bush fire, but as an aid to greater socioeconomic justice. Nelson Mandela this week came forward with the most comprehensive economic statement, in which he indicated that he is remarkably sensitive toward an economy that must allow South Africa to grow out of the injustice. If Mandela could hear (and hopefully this week he did) how many businessmen these days no longer call for unqualified capitalism, but show an understanding for inequalities and backlogs, he would realize that on both sides there is a movement away from rigid views. Progress has been such that a Groote Schuur economic declaration of agreements has almost become possible. Multiple national interests are being handled with encouraging results in negotiations on a new South Africa."

TRANSVALER

De Klerk Should Cancel U.S. Visit—"Now that the excitement of President de Klerk's triumphant European visit nears its end, interest naturally shifts to his announced trip to the United States," observes a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 22 May. "Excitement is already building since a visit by a South African head of state to the Western superpower is rare." However, "it would be unwise to visit the

United States and jeopardize his European achievements, a strong possibility after a White House visit." "U.S. attitudes have not changed. Knives are being sharpened. President de Klerk's Washington visit could well result in serious damage to South Africa's current image-building process. Add to this the low profile treatment President de Klerk will receive compared to the welcome planned for Mandela, and we believe the state president should stay home."

Securing European Investments Important—"President de Klerk's European visit enters a critical stage as he briefs the people who can make a difference in the South African economy," points out a page 8 editorial in *TRANSVALER* on 25 May. "President de Klerk's stately reception by foreign leaders was obviously a wonderful experience both for him and for the people of South Africa." "He is now briefing financiers. They research the country's stability; they are not really interested in the country's politics; they are only concerned with the safety of their investments. Securing their investment is more important to South Africa than anything else. It is even more important than the goodwill and friendly relations from all the European governments." "It will not be easy for President de Klerk while violence is still erupting throughout the country, which is why it is important for peace to prevail and for the extremist elements to be brought to order."

RAPPORT

Wish Public Strength on Reform Endeavors—A page 14 editorial in Johannesburg *RAPPORT* in Afrikaans on 27 May reads: "The fact that a South African head of state can walk through Europe's front doors and state his country's case is good. President de Klerk clearly accomplished his objective with his tight-scheduled mission so a new day could dawn over South Africa. Most of his credibility depended on what he had accomplished through reform in a short period of time in South Africa, as well as his approach to European leaders. Honesty, sincerity, and purpose must have made the impression in Europe. This should rightly be applied in the same way in South Africa. President de Klerk returned home to uneasy reality with the unwelcome Welkom and smoldering Natal situations. If we have to wish President de Klerk strength in his endeavors, we should also wish ourselves strength in our endeavors. Those people who support the idea of a good, new South Africa should be ready to pitch in rather than sit as quiet and well-intentioned spectators."

Authorities Need To Control Unrest With Impartiality—"The talks Law and Order Minister Addriaan Vlok held with vigilantes and his friendly Cape Town meeting with the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] leader did not protect against right-wing extremists and arms displays," points out a second editorial on the same page. "Vlok in Parliament sounded a stern warning to vigilantes and other armed groups in the country that action may be taken against those displaying dangerous

weapons during protest processions and political meetings." "While white and black terror bombs continue to explode, it is the authorities' duty to bring both sides under control with stern impartiality, otherwise a new South Africa will not be achieved."

29 May Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2905115990

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Proper Coast Guard Service Needed—Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English on 29 May in a page 22 editorial observes it is time the authorities reassessed South Africa's "entire coastal policy." There is "little doubt that foreign trawlers have been taking advantage of South Africa's poor coastal surveillance." "Bearing in mind the recent destruction of the Cape's once lucrative sardine resource through overfishing, we support the call for the establishment of a coastguard service. Partly sponsored perhaps by private enterprise, it could be used not only for normal coastguard duties and rescue work but as the long arm of the fisheries law."

CP Must Adjust to Support 'Reality'—A second editorial on the same page refers to the Conservative Party (CP) rally over the weekend at the Voortrekker Monument, saying the party's deputy leader said 150,000 people attended. However, *THE STAR* believes after a "careful count" only 50,000 people attended. "The CP would do well to forget about massed numbers. They need to adjust to the reality—which all other parliamentary parties are now doing—that, if they attract a million people, they still constitute only a minority of a minority in South Africa. And numbers, after all, can be used both ways."

BUSINESS DAY

Sanctions 'Yesterday's Issue'—"Only in the United States, where political self-interest combines with a singular ignorance about the global village, does the question of sanctions still occupy a prominent position on the agenda of relations with South Africa," notes Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English on 29 May in a page 14 editorial. "In Europe, the problem is not sanctions, but a growing mood of apathy and disillusion about Africa as a continent. The Americans are malevolent, the Europeans increasingly indifferent." *BUSINESS DAY* believes "sanctions are yesterday's issue; the debt problem has virtually been surmounted, the political horizon has opened, and European attitudes have changed profoundly. Tomorrow's issue is to set in motion the new industrial revolution that is necessary if this country is to create jobs for its people and to meet the aspirations of its vast underclass. There is not much point in worrying now about the United States, which is still marching stubbornly to yesterday's drumbeat; more attention should be focused on making what Europe and

the Far East need: a pollution-free range of exports. If that were to succeed, the remaining sanctions would evaporate."

SOWETAN

Call for Natal Violence Justice—"The violence in Natal, from where come sickening reports of women and children being killed by vigilantes, cannot go on forever," warns Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 29 May in its page 6 editorial. "Only the police and other security forces can bring this madness to an end. Not only must the perpetrators of violence be arrested but they must be charged. Justice must not only be done, but must be seen to be done." "In Natal respect for law has been so eroded that criminals think they can get away with their acts of savagery. Very soon the office of Law and Order and the courts will be attacked by such people."

* ANC's NEC Statement in Lusaka, Zambia

34000644A Lusaka SECHABA in English
Apr 90 pp 5-6

[Text] A meeting of the National Executive Committee [NEC] of the African National Congress [ANC] was held in Lusaka, Zambia on 1 and 2 March 1990. It was also attended by leaders of our movement based inside South Africa, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and other comrades.

The meeting reviewed the situation since the historic release of Comrade Nelson Mandela. It reiterated the fact that despite the undoubted importance of this release, the majority of political prisoners are still in gaol.

It is urgent that this matter be resolved. This urgency is emphasised by the fact of the heroic hunger strikes on which our comrades in prison have now embarked.

It is also of vital importance that the Pretoria regime moves without delay to remove all other obstacles standing in the way of negotiations.

In this regard the NEC reaffirmed its earlier decision to meet the Pretoria regime to discuss the issue of removing these obstacles. It welcomed the positive response of F.W. de Klerk to their initiative. Having discussed various matters of detail concerning this meeting, the NEC decided that it was necessary to initiate contact with the regime immediately to seek agreement on the dates of the meeting, the venue and other matters relating to the preparation of the meeting.

The NEC also discussed as a matter of urgency the implementation of its earlier decisions to send into the country some of its members who would, together with the ANC leaders inside the country, carry out an extensive process of consultation with all democratic and anti-apartheid forces on the current situation and our perspectives. The NEC group will be selected and sent home as soon as the necessary arrangements are made.

The NEC considered a report by Comrade Walter Sisulu on work done to re-establish the legal structures of the ANC. It decided that the Headquarters Office of the ANC will be opened in Johannesburg without delay. It also approved the constitution of other headquarters, regional and local structures which will be put in place as soon as possible.

It resolved to approach its international allies to assist in providing the resources that are necessary for the rebuilding of the ANC.

The NEC considered future international visits by Comrade Nelson Mandela and other leaders based inside the country. It confirmed that Comrade Mandela will, from Zambia, visit Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Sweden before he returns home.

It expressed its appreciation for the very many communications it had received, inviting Comrade Mandela to visit various countries. It therefore directed the National Working Committee of the NEC to look into this question to elaborate a programme of international visits for Comrade Mandela and other leaders based inside the country.

The NEC expressed its profound thanks to Comrade President Kenneth Kaunda, UNIP [United National Independence Party], the government and people of Zambia, for the unprecedented welcome they extended to Comrade Nelson Mandela, his family and the rest of his delegation. This outstanding demonstration of solidarity and unqualified friendship is a vital factor strengthening our movement and people in the continuing struggle to end the apartheid system and transform our country into a non-racial democracy.

It also expressed its warm appreciation to the Frontline, Commonwealth, EEC and other leaders who travelled to Lusaka to meet Comrade Mandela. The discussions which took place with them have helped further to reinforce the continuing international struggle for the isolation of apartheid South Africa. The NEC also thanked the rest of the international community for the mobilisation carried out to welcome the release of Comrade Mandela.

The NEC saluted Comrade Mandela and other comrades who have served prison sentences for their opposition to apartheid. It paid tribute to them for their outstanding contribution to the struggle for the liberation of our people.

It resolved that immediately the comrades who were members of the NEC before they were arrested, namely Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, will resume their places with the NEC. The NEC further elected Comrade Nelson Mandela as Deputy President of the ANC.

The NEC resolved to convey its greetings to Comrade President Sam Nujoma, SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the people of Namibia on the

occasion of the accession of their country to independence. It further decided to send a high-level delegation to participate in the independence celebrations.

Finally, it paid its tribute to the National Reception Committee, the democratic and anti-apartheid movement and the masses of our people for the manner in which they received Comrade Mandela into their midst. This process has helped further to reinforce the unity of our people and emphasise the necessity further to intensify the struggle.

The NEC conveyed its warm greetings to Comrade President Oliver Tambo, thanked him for his invaluable contribution to its discussions and wished him a speedy recovery. The NEC is confident that he will soon return to his post to lead our organisation and people to victory.

Lusaka, Zambia, 2 March 1990

* NIC Vice-President on Indian Community Role

34000644B Lusaka SECHABA in English
Apr 90 pp 7-9

[Interview with NIC Vice-President and UDF member Mewa Ramgobin in Britain]

[Text] Last month, Mewa Ramgobin, current vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) and member of the United Democratic Front (UDF) visited London. He spoke to SECHABA about his involvement in the struggle, his role in the NIC and the reaction of the Indian community in South Africa to the unbanning of the ANC [African National Congress] and the release of Nelson Mandela. He also addressed issues concerning the future role of the NIC, the Tricameral parliament and the recent actions of the Thatcher government.

[SECHABA] Could you tell us your official position in the NIC, and how you became involved in the struggle?

[Ramgobin] I am the current vice-president of the NIC. My first involvement with the struggle was in the 1950s when I was a student and a member of the NIC. In terms of the Congress Alliance I was also an ANC member. During this period I was also president of Natal University SRC's black section and a national executive member of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The student movement became an important component of the struggle after the ANC was banned in 1960 and spearheaded demands that the state of emergency be lifted, the leaders released and the ANC unbanned. It was in this political climate that I was first banned in 1965, while holding the position of the organising secretary of the Gandhi Centenary Celebrations. After my banning order expired in 1970 I established the Committee for Clemency, which called for the release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC. In 1971 I called for the revival of the NIC and began working towards this. We hoped that by reviving one wing of the Congress Alliance, the NIC, we could revive the Congress Alliance and through this, the Freedom

Charter. However, before the official convention to launch the revival of the NIC, I was re-banned for five years and placed under house arrest. I remained in this position until 1 July 1983.

In August 1983 I became the first national co-treasurer of the UDF and was subsequently re-detained. In September 1984 I entered the British Consulate in Durban with other activists to protest against re-arrest orders that had been issued against us. Our aim was to express solidarity with other detainees and highlight the harsh security laws of South Africa. I was re-arrested when I left the consulate and held under Section 28 of the revised order. After our release in December we were immediately re-arrested and held for six months without trial. We were eventually brought to trial and subsequently acquitted.

[SECHABA] What is the purpose of your visit to Britain?

[Ramgobin] A few years ago the Oxford Students' Union invited me to Britain to debate Gatscha Buthelezi's Kwa-Zulu Indaba. I accepted the invitation but was unable to make the trip because I was unable to get a passport. I subsequently received a passport and my invitation to Britain was renewed. While in London I will also address Conservative MP [Member of Parliament]s on the need to sustain sanctions against the Pretoria regime. I will then travel to Sweden to address the Swedish Writers' Union.

[SECHABA] How do you view the recent developments in South Africa?

[Ramgobin] The present political situation in South Africa is a logical consequence of the decades of struggle of our oppressed people. There is no doubt that De Klerk has moved forward. However, we must make it clear that this has been precipitated by the struggle of the South African people, particularly over the last five years. During this period there has been a mass mobilisation of the democratic forces inside South Africa—as can be seen from consumer boycotts, strikes, rent boycotts, the boycott of the municipal elections, school stay-aways and the defiance campaigns of the past year. There has been widespread refusal to co-operate with the Tricameral parliament, the implementation of local authorities and other exploitative measures. This mass action, coupled with the international disinvestment and sanctions drive, has brought South Africa to where it is today. It is our historical task to strengthen those forces that have led South Africa to its present situation and it is up to us to strengthen and sharpen our struggle against apartheid. The international sanctions lobby against Pretoria must continue to hasten the end to apartheid.

[SECHABA] How do you view Mrs Thatcher's recent actions concerning the lifting of sanctions?

[Ramgobin] It is most regrettable that Mrs Thatcher has chosen not to honour the European Community agreement to impose sanctions against apartheid. We have no doubt that Mrs Thatcher has greater empathy for the

apartheid regime than the democratic movement in South Africa—it is the institutions of apartheid oppression that are being supported by her, not those of democracy. Apartheid is a crime against humanity and she and her government have breached the international spirit of fighting against apartheid. We want sanctions to remain as a constant pressure to end apartheid—she wants sanctions lifted so that De Klerk can be given the space to reform apartheid. Mrs Thatcher has highlighted her inconsistency by saying that sanctions do not work, yet she was very quick to invoke sanctions against Libya and the Falklands when it suited her. It will be a regrettable part of history if Britain's relationship with a future democratic South Africa is determined by the vagaries of Mrs Thatcher.

[SECHABA] What has been the response of the majority of South African Indians to the unbanning of the ANC and the release of its leaders?

[Ramgobin] There is a new fervour and confidence among South African Indians. The NIC has always been an historical ally of the ANC, and the NIC articulates the view of a majority of Indians. Just as the NIC is linked to the ANC, so the destiny of South African Indians is linked to that of a majority of South Africans, despite the government's efforts to create dissent among African and Indians through events such as the violence at Inanda.

[SECHABA] How do you see the role of the NIC at this stage of our struggle?

[Ramgobin] Over the years the NIC has played a crucial role in mobilising Indian opinion and resistance to apartheid. It has also used its historical experience to help create the UDF. However, as the ANC has now been unbanned, there may be a limited lifespan for the NIC, especially as the democratic movement is now seeking to build non-racial constituencies for the creation of a future non-racial, democratic and united South Africa. It is important for us in the NIC to evaluate and understand the current developments in our country, and seek ways to collapse the NIC into ANC structures if the need arises for us to do so. This can be seen as a way of building non-racial, democratic institutions and the issue should also be addressed by the white and coloured constituencies. The ideals, banners and historical wisdom of the ANC must now be carried in physical and real terms to all the so-called racial constituencies in South Africa—Whites, Coloureds and Indians. The politics of liberation must be determined in a non-racial way.

[SECHABA] There are members of the Indian community presently taking part in the Tricameral parliament. What do you think they should do now? Should they resign or do you think they may have a role to play in that parliament?

[Ramgobin] I can imagine how threatened participants in the Tricameral system and the bantustans must feel at the recent developments in South Africa. The junior

partners of Mr De Klerk must be agonising about the inevitable loss of their artificial privileges, such as their inflated salaries and pensions. It is imperative that a non-racial seat of power democratically elected by all South Africans, be created. The House of Delegates for Indians and the House of Representatives for Coloureds are nothing more than the instruments and extensions of white power. They were created to manipulate Indians and Coloureds, just as the bantustans were created to manipulate Africans. The seat of power lies within the House of Assembly and that is what the democratic movement is concerned with. We want the power to transform our divided society into a united, democratic one that is representative of ALL South Africans. The future of the House of Delegates and Representatives must be seen in its correct context—we must also examine the future of the bantustans. None of these must be seen in isolation from each other.

Members of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives will do what their masters tell them to do. However, we in the democratic movement would consider it a tremendous step forward if they were to offer their resignations and throw in their lot with the democratic forces. In fact, we urge them to do so. We wish to make it quite clear that positions of privilege in preference to solidarity with the rest of the community will not be tolerated.

* Role of SACTU in Current Events Discussed

340/00644C Lusaka SECHABA in English
Apr 90 pp 10-12

[Article by Elijah Barayi; first two paragraphs are SECHABA introduction]

[Text] Since the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] at the end of 1985, there has been a consistent debate and discussion on the role that the South African Congress of Trade Unions [SACTU] has played and must play within the trade union movement.

On 5 March, in an historical meeting of SACTU, commemorating its 35th Anniversary, one of the speakers was Elijah Barayi, President of COSATU. His intervention was particularly important because it put into correct perspective the role that SACTU has played and then poses the question on what SACTU's role should be in today's situation.

We live in truly historic times. Twenty years ago the name of SACTU was only whispered in the factories and mines of our country. Open propagation of SACTU was a one-way ticket to the detention cells. Today workers throughout South Africa are openly holding celebrations, marking the contributions SACTU has made over these three and a half decades of struggle.

Some armchair critics have claimed that SACTU abandoned the workers by going underground. What these people do not know, or choose to ignore, is that SACTU

leaders were detained, banned, harassed, tortured and assassinated for years. This is what forced SACTU underground.

Workers are proud of SACTU and see it as their own. That is why workers are celebrating in South Africa today. We in COSATU have always known that SACTU has been an organisation which has consistently held workers' interests foremost. COSATU has followed on in that tradition. That is why COSATU has organised SACTU anniversary celebrations throughout the country today.

What is the situation in which these celebrations are taking place?

There is a revolutionary excitement in our country today. The celebrations are taking place in a situation where our entire country is being swept by the mood which prevailed in 1985 and 1986.

The bantustans have become flash-points of resistance. Even the so-called "independent TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states" haven't escaped this. The pillars of "separate development" are crumbling. Popular uprisings have burst out in Ciskei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, and enormous advances continue to be made in the Transkei.

In South Africa, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei has released political prisoners and stands for reincorporation into South Africa. He spoke below the flags of the ANC [African National Congress] and SACP [South African Communist Party]. The state security council met in Cape Town to decide whether to intervene. We appeal to the international community to prevent the regime from reinstating the tyrant Sebe.

In every township, village, factory, farm and mine the flame of freedom is burning. Our people know that victory is finally within our grasp, but that we are going to have to redouble our efforts to reach our liberation. We have no illusions that De Klerk is about to free us.

In fact, the forces of reaction are mobilising for a counter-offensive. The death squads continue to plot murder despite the commission of enquiry which began today. Vigilante gangs are springing up all over the country, most recently in Soweto where they have murdered members of the Soweto Youth Congress. The fascist right is mobilising its forces. Reports of police and army brutality grow daily.

We believe that these are the desperate kicks of the dying animal, apartheid. The longer this animal lives the more of our people get crushed by its blows. Internally and internationally we have to intensify our efforts to kill this beast now!

The Contribution of SACTU

I would like to give a general outline of the contributions which SACTU has made to the trade union movement in our country.

1. Non-racialism

Right from the outset, SACTU has been the champion of non-racial trade unionism in South Africa. Where the regime and bosses sought to divide, SACTU sought to unite. Today we see the fruit of that work, particularly in my federation COSATU.

2. Anti-Apartheid Trade Unionism

SACTU correctly identified the fact that in South Africa there can be no artificial separation between the workers' struggle against economic exploitation, and their struggle against national oppression. If you compromise on your fight against the one, then you end up compromising in your fight against the other.

This legacy of so-called "political trade unionism" which SACTU pioneered has served workers well. It has helped develop our trade union as a powerful weapon in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation.

SACTU played an important role as part of the Congress Alliance in contributing to our great beacon of freedom, the Freedom Charter. The demands put forward by our people in 1955, remain as relevant today as they were then. COSATU is committed to fighting for the realisation of these demands.

3. Trade Union Unity

Thirty five years of trade union unity is the theme of today's celebration. SACTU has consistently fought for the creation of a single, united, trade union federation in South Africa. SACTU has consistently said that every worker must be a trade unionist, and every trade unionist must be in COSATU.

SACTU has made an important contribution to help realise this goal. They fully backed the formation of COSATU and resisted all divisive approaches aimed at splitting the trade union movement.

International Work

SACTU has spear-headed the campaign for international solidarity with South Africa's workers. SACTU worked under difficult conditions to help secure political, moral and financial support from the international trade union movement for the independent trade union movement in South Africa, and for the anti-apartheid struggle in general.

As part of the liberation alliance, SACTU has therefore contributed to the isolation of the regime and the worldwide support which our movement receives. While it has welcomed international support, SACTU has consistently resisted attempts by international interests to divide the trade union movement in South Africa. Workers in South Africa refuse to be dictated to on which methods and approach to use in trade union struggles.

As long as trade unions are putting workers' interests first, and acting in a way which furthers trade union unity, we believe that our comrades internationally will continue to give us unconditional support. We call on workers and trade unions in Britain and other countries to be vigilant against attempts to undermine and divide the trade union movement in South Africa.

There are powerful interests internationally who do not want to see a united and militant trade union movement in a liberated South Africa.

What is the role of SACTU in today's situation?

Let me turn now to SACTU's role in the changing situation in South Africa. The recent dramatic developments have radically changed the conditions under which our organisations can operate. A lot of space which had previously been closed has now opened up. This not only affects the trade unions but the entire liberation movement.

It was in the light of this that the NEC [National Executive Committee] of SACTU and the NEC of COSATU have decided to meet on the 19th of this month. We would be assessing the current situation and in particular looking at the future role of SACTU in the changed situation. Obviously as President of COSATU I cannot express any view on this matter until our NEC's have met.

But what I want to say is that I am confident that whatever decision is taken will be aimed at strengthening the formations of organised workers in South Africa, and furthering the aims and objectives which both COSATU and SACTU share. That is, one united non-racial trade union movement committed to the interest of workers and the liberation of our people.

Challenges of the Current Situation

The trade union movement has identified a number of important challenges facing us in the immediate period ahead:

- We have to organise the unorganised and disorganised workers. This includes farm workers and many workers in the rural areas as well as many of the workers who are still unorganised in the city. We also include here the disorganised and unorganised white workers who have been driven to the hands of the extreme right, whereas their only true security lies with their black fellow workers.
- We need to resist the measures aimed at smashing the trade union movement. The Labour Relations Act and deregulation are aimed at rolling back the gains we have made over the last ten years and restoring the cheap labour system in our country. The new attack we have to resist is the attempt by capital to destroy the national collective bargaining system by sabotaging industrial councils. They are now attempting to divide our strength by forcing us to bargain at plant

level. They have learnt many tricks from Thatcher's Britain.

- Another unwanted Thatcher import we have to fight is the privatisation of people's property in South Africa. The regime is trying to ensure that when a people's government takes over in South Africa it will have no resources to implement our revolutionary programme—the Freedom Charter. This we can never accept!
- We need to advance rapidly towards our goal of One Industry, One Union! One Country, One Federation! Our affiliates have completed the merger process and many unions are still streaming in to COSATU. We have made giant steps towards our goal of one federation, but we still need to speed up this process.
- We need to intensify discussion and develop a clear perspective about the role trade unions should play in a liberated South Africa. We need to carefully study the experiences of the socialist countries and other national liberation struggles to draw lessons from these countries, both positive and negative.

At a practical level, we are embarking on a massive campaign to collect workers' demands for a workers' charter, something like the campaign which led to the adoption of the Freedom Charter. This workers' charter will set out the role and rights of trade unions and workers in a liberated South Africa.

SACTU has made an important contribution to this campaign by submitting its own draft charter for discussion. Our mass campaign will culminate in a special congress to discuss and adopt the workers' charter.

- Most importantly, together with the entire liberation movement, we have to intensify our mass struggles to rid ourselves of the apartheid monster for good.

* Clergyman on Ethical Dimensions of Negotiations

34000644D Lusaka SECHABA in English
Apr 90 pp 18-20

[Article by Reverend John Lamola]

[Text] In the struggle for a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, one thing can be said about the church—it has played a very important role. That also goes for the other religious groups—Muslims, Hindus etc. In this article we publish the ANC [African National Congress] position on the role of the religious community in the current phase of the struggle. This is particularly important, as we feel that the political positions of the religious community, which spiritually guides millions of our people, should be consonant with those of their spiritual followers.

The position enunciated below was presented by the Reverend John Lamola to a World Council of Churches Emergency Consultation on South Africa, which was held in Harare on 16-17 February.

Strategies and tactics of a revolution change as the historical conditions they were formulated upon change. But principles of struggle, for which revolutionaries do not feign to pay the supreme sacrifice, do not just easily change.

The right approach of our contribution will be to highlight and emphasise the principles of the South African struggle as led by the ANC. Because these, by and large, have a higher level of sacrosanctity than the periodically formulated tactics and strategies which the movement has to draw from time to time. In this respect we recommend that the OAU [Organization of African Unity] Adhoc Committee on Southern Africa Harare Declaration of August 1989 be thoroughly studied, because in it is classically encapsulated the guiding principles which the ANC is going to follow throughout the coming months.

In a statement released on 12 February 1990, Comrade Alfred Nzo, the ANC Secretary-General, when announcing plans for the visit of Comrade Nelson Mandela to Lusaka for consultation with the NEC [National Executive Committee], lest this incidence raise expectations of a dramatic retraction from the positions pronounced since Comrade Mandela's release, Comrade Nzo said:

"We must warn in advance that those within the international community who are expecting us to abandon our struggle in favour of what they perceived as the only cause our struggle should pursue from now henceforth—the cause of negotiations—will obviously meet with disappointment."

The issue of negotiations, as far as the ANC is concerned, is not to be isolated from the mainstream struggle to destroy apartheid. It is but another terrain of a number of interrelated terrains of our struggle, namely the activities of the ANC underground inside South Africa, mass protest action, mobilisation of the international community against the apartheid regime, and the armed struggle. Negotiations do not replace any of these, and must, until otherwise decided in the course of negotiations, go simultaneously with all of these other areas of struggle. On the question of the incosanguinity of armed struggle and the course of negotiations, the Harare Declaration, putting forward the ANC position, states:

"Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African regime to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding cease-fire."

There is no way that the ANC can disarm itself unilaterally. Our military formation is a crucial pillar of our offensive and self-defence against the violence of apartheid. We are where we are with De Klerk today, principally because we as the oppressed have an army, which, as the regime secretly knows, cannot be taken for granted.

In the light of Mr F.W. de Klerk's recent moves, we particularly draw to the attention of the religious community, both in South Africa and internationally, that our struggle has now entered a new terrain. This is the battle for the occupation of the moral highground.

For more than a decade we have established, beyond all disputations, the heretical nature of the apartheid ideology, the intrinsic quality of its evil, and the moral illegitimacy of the apartheid political institutions. The converse of all this has been an affirmation of the morality of the liberation struggle, particularly as led by the ANC.

The ideals of peace and freedom have been our battle cry all along.

Now, all of a sudden, De Klerk turns and attempts to portray his reluctant shifts from apartheid bigotry as acts of sincere nobility, which have nothing to do with the fact that he is in fact responding to the ANC's pressure of struggle. He even goes further to attempt to depict the ANC as a hardline, unreasonable organisation which is not willing to engage in a peaceful settlement of the violent conflict our land is embroiled in. It is as if words like 'peaceful settlement' and 'negotiations' have been coined by De Klerk, and were initially introduced into South African political debate by the National Party. The truth is, that until at least 1960, the year of its banning, and the subsequent adoption of the armed struggle as an added component of our struggle, the ANC had put forward the demand for a peaceful and democratic transfer of power to the people of South Africa on a non-racial basis. In the archives of the South African Government, there is a letter dated 31 December 1960, which was written by Nelson Mandela as the secretary conveying the resolutions of the All-In Africa Conference which was held in Pietermaritzburg, calling on the Verwoerd government to facilitate the convening of a National Convention where a new constitution for the country would be drafted. This overture for peace met with the traditional Nationalist Party's snub of demands of the black people.

The concept of negotiations in the form of its current use, at least, entered the language of South African politics from October 1987, when the ANC produced a statement outlining the possibilities of a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict.

De Klerk must not be allowed to steal our language and to nefariously use it, as he does, to perpetuate racist privilege in South Africa, and for the blackmail of the liberation movement. He must publicly acknowledge the initiatives of the ANC, and proceed with moral sincerity and not with the current pandering of world public opinion.

The struggle for the moral astuteness of our tactics and strategies continues.

Ours is a principled struggle with a definite goal. The goal is the seizure of power from its violent clasp by a

racist minority and its democratic transfer to the whole people of South Africa. This is the only way authentic peace can be achieved in South Africa. The principle of the maintenance of a disciplined confrontation of evil is more important than ever before in our struggle. The apartheid regime must be approached and be dealt with as a battered enemy who has finally realised that it is no longer in its interest to continue the battle. Every move of De Klerk is a retreat by the racist regime and the advance of our revolutionary assault. And we must consolidate these advances, defend them and press on.

We have forced the apartheid intellectual establishment, which includes the NGK (Dutch Reformed Church), to acknowledge the moral bankruptcy of apartheid as a social system and the scientific fallaciousness of all its defences. This area we have won, and it is within this sphere of our victory that De Klerk is operating. The next line of battle which we opened was the question of the legal and moral legitimacy of the Pretoria regime. This question, if we at all have taken our theological pronouncements seriously, is more pertinent to the currently unfolding situation than any other.

According to De Klerk's transitional plan (the Five Year Plan) the currently ruling racist National Party must be left in place and act as the government of the day, as the main player as well as the referee of the direction of change the country must take. They want to draw the rules, and to provide the current apartheid parliamentary structure as the basic platform for a negotiated settlement. De Klerk has even been nearly successful in being seen in some quarters as the likes of a Gorbachev who is engaged in a **democratisation** of South Africa. For instance, the SUNDAY TIMES (Johannesburg) of 4 February 1990 headlined its reproduction of De Klerk's famous 2 February speech as "Pretoria-stroika," in allusion to Mr Gorbachev's perestroika programme.

De Klerk is not an assumed leader of South Africa, who has to preside over the 'reform' or 'dismantling' of apartheid. He himself, his very political position, is part of the system which needs to be reformed—to use their language. We have all along challenged the political legitimacy of the apartheid regime, and its inability to reform itself. All the more now, we must challenge the legitimacy of its self-abrogation of the prerogative to want to decide the logistics, agenda and the *locus executandi* of the envisaged negotiation process.

Our greatest and particular contributions as religious institutions and persons is to infuse into this debate and political wrangle the ethical dimension. We must uphold and insist on these moral principles which we believe serve the cause of liberation and peace.

The demand of the ANC and the international community as declared in the OAU Harare Declaration reads:

"The parties shall agree on the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution, govern and administer the

country, as well as effect the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections."

The only thing the South African Government is required to do is to create a climate for the ANC to participate in the preparations for and in the actual negotiating process as an equal partner, and not some South African organisation which is at the mercy of the apartheid political-legal system. In addition to what he has done since 2 February 1990, Mr de Klerk is expected to release all political prisoners and detainees, including MK [Spear of the Nation] combatants, unconditionally; to demilitarise the life of our people in the townships; to repeal the state of emergency, recognising that even now a significant measure of restrictions on the media is still in place. He well knew that he could not demand the ANC to disarm its formation for the defence of the oppressed people of South Africa, the MK, while his forces are seen to be actively continuing with their carnage before the eyes of the world. Furthermore, the Internal Security Act, according to the Harare principles, must go. We still have people held under the notoriously obnoxious Section 29 of the Act. Also, all political trials must cease forthwith. In the words of the Harare Declaration, "the measures listed above should **precede** negotiations" (my own emphasis).

The ANC cannot be seen to be violating the very positions for which it has campaigned so laboriously for the international community to accept. The insistence that the South African Government must first meet all these conditions is not a matter of adamant arrogance on the part of the ANC and the international community, but is a matter of political practicalities. The ANC cannot at present legitimately say that it has democratically consulted with its membership when some of the most dedicated of these, MK combatants, are languishing on Robben Island and in prisons throughout South Africa.

In the light of all this, it is evident that all our weapons of struggle, particularly the campaign for international isolation of the apartheid regime, must be reinforced, and we must defend and consolidate all our gains in this area.

Peace in South Africa is coming. But its authenticity and durability shall be determined by how it comes. Let us insist on true peace, peace with justice, *shalom*. Such a peace can only come when the apartheid regime goes to the negotiating table with the ANC, not because it is posturing away from international isolation, but because it has been significantly weakened in all formations of its power.

*** Coal Industry's Future Prospects Viewed**

34000645A Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
(Energy Supplement) in English 13 Apr 90 pp 27-28

[Text] In terms of 1988 production figures, the SA [South Africa] coal industry was the world's sixth largest, with an output of 176 Mt, says Mannie Pohl, of Davis Borkum Hare & Co.

SA's output is not very different from the fourth and fifth in the international league table (Poland and India), and represents about 30 percent of the quantities produced by the Soviet Union and the U.S. China is first with a 1988 output of 885 Mt.

The figures for total output give little guide to the ranking of exporters, however. In 1986 SA ranked third, with 43.5 Mt, after the U.S. and Australia.

Pohl records that sanctions were deployed against coal exports for the first time in 1985. It was no coincidence that this was a time of oversupply in world markets: some competitors had the idea of using politics to force SA out of world coal markets.

If that were the strategy, it misfired. The weakening of the rand enabled SA to counter with sharp price cutting, and exports rose between 1984 and 1988, though there was significant substitution in destinations.

Pohl says sanctions had a minimum effect on the industry in 1986 but were felt in 1987, a year when aggressive selling by SA companies in South East Asia helped to cause a recession in the Australian coal industry. The downward influence on prices was intensified by the entry of Colombia and China into export markets. There was also a recession in the Japanese steel industry.

Unfortunately, railage costs rose sharply in SA at the time, limiting the ability of producers to cut prices. Some went into loss. Not surprisingly, plans for expansion of the Richards Bay Coal Terminal, which handles most exports, were shelved.

Export prices recovered sharply in late 1987, helped by a variety of disasters which befell SA's competitors.

Australia and China, for example, could not make good on all their commitments to deliver to markets won from SA. Both Australia and Poland suffered expensive strikes while Colombia was hit by floods and quality control problems. Japan's steel production recovered strongly and world stockpiles of coal declined.

New technology reduced the demand for hard coking coal but increased the demand for soft coking coal.

Concurrently, further weakness in the rand and successful marketing drives to counteract the effect of sanctions gave a boost to SA exporters.

Allen Cook, deputy chairman of the coal division of Rand Mines, pointed out at a recent conference that SA coal is easy to mine because of shallow, flat and thick seams and its low sulphur content. This has become increasingly important because of concern over acid rain resulting from sulphur dioxide emissions from power stations.

Cook draws attention to another advantage of SA export coal. As the coal mined is of too low a calorific content to be exported, it has to be washed to remove impurities.

This process can be tightly controlled, so it is possible to offer a product of consistent calorific content.

One may also observe that SA has a good track record on consistency of deliveries. And the Richards Bay terminal is an exceptional example of economies of scale, enabling coal to be moved from freight train to ship at low cost, while the harbour facilities permit the passage of large coal carriers.

The current buoyancy of exports has motivated an extension to the coal terminal. This project, says Cook, is to be completed by the end of 1991. It will raise the capacity of the terminal by 4 Mt a year to 48 Mt at a cost of R239m in current rand terms.

A further expansion programme has been mooted, which would add another 5 Mt a year and could cost R105m.

Pohl says that this step would not be without risk. He expects, though, that overseas demand will grow in the range of 2 percent-4 percent a year. SA's full participation will be possible only if sanctions are lifted. He says international demand for coal is expected to rise by 180 Mt a year from 345 Mt in 1985 to 525 Mt by the year 2000. About 5.6 percent of total coal exports now comprise coking coal, the demand for which is likely to remain depressed because of technical improvements in the steel industry.

On the other hand, he does not see a recurrence of the sharp peak in the oil price experienced in 1979. And even with an oil price higher than at present, it is unlikely large-scale conversion to coal firing or construction of coal-fired generating plant will occur.

Of the growing concern over acid rain, Pohl foresees that many of Europe's power utilities will spend as much on preventing acid emissions (sulphur dioxide) as on building power stations. This factor is causing the heavy electrical companies to review their marketing and investment strategies. It is also forcing utility analysts to examine the impact on coal companies and plant manufacturers.

Nevertheless, he does not expect utilities to reduce their coal purchases abruptly to reduce emissions, with a possible exception at one British power station.

He foresees sulphur dioxide emission controls segmenting the coal market internationally:

- Plant with DSC which will be allowed to burn coals with a wide range of sulphur coal, on the basis either of meeting maximum sulphur limits for the coal burned, or to meet emissions standards;
- Plant without DSC which is free to burn any coal;
- Plant with DSC which will be allowed to burn coals with a wide range of sulphur contents, but which will still have a preference for low-sulphur coal, since this reduces the cost of flue gas desulphurisation; and
- Plant with DSC which is also subject to a requirement to burn low-sulphur coal.

Pohl concludes that the efforts to restrict sulphur emissions will tend to promote a switch from coal to gas.

He notes that the inland market takes about 75 percent of output. Over one-third of coal produced is bought by Eskom (estimated at 72 Mt in 1989). Industry as a whole takes 53 Mt (1989 estimate). Cook says that, of this amount, Sasol takes 39.4 Mt (1988 statistics), the bulk from tied collieries. Only 4.8 Mt is bought out and Sasol has decided in principle to open another colliery of its own to eliminate buying-out.

Pohl draws attention to Eskom's reassessment of its expansion programme. He says the next tender for coal for a new power station is some way off.

Cook notes that coal prices, both local and export, are so low that they effectively discourage any major new investments in coal mining in SA (with the exception of Sasol's possible new colliery). Major new mines from other groups are unlikely for the next few years, though current producers will expand capacity using existing infrastructure. And capital expenditure to replace depleted resources is ongoing.

Cook draws attention to the Waterberg coalfield which, though small in area, contains about one-third of SA's reserves because the coal lies in thick deposits.

There has been interest in Waterberg in case environmentalists conclude that the atmosphere in the eastern Transvaal has been saturated with emissions from the cluster of coal-fired power stations and other industries in that region.

Cook sounds a warning about the Waterberg coalfield: the thickness of the seams will present technical difficulties if total extraction is attempted.

* Rightwing Power Dissipated by Divisions

34000645C Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
in English 13 Apr 90 p 25

[Words in italics as published]

[Text] A major effort by rightwing opposition groups to unite against the reforms of President F.W. De Klerk has exposed cracks in the conservative movement. Instead of aligning themselves over a broad front, former enemies in rightwing circles are now joining ranks—while former allies are splitting up.

Afrikaners have not been so divided since the 1982 breakaway by Andries Treurnicht from the NP [National Party]. The divisions have also been highlighted since De Klerk's 2 February speech, after which Treurnicht's CP [Conservative Party] scrambled to muster support—only to alienate groups like Eugene TerreBlanche's militant AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and Carel Boshoff's Afrikaner Volkswag.

In a recent interview with the FM, TerreBlanche was openly critical of Treurnicht's call for a three-day stay-away and the CP appeal for "a million signatures." A stayaway by civil servants, an important base of CP support, would give De Klerk's government good reason to lay off people, argues TerreBlanche. Later, at an AWB meeting, he snubbed Treurnicht again by saying what was needed was not a million signatures but a million arms and ammunition.

Treurnicht has tried to distance himself and his party from TerreBlanche. The CP has not formed a loose alliance with the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) of former RAU [Rand Afrikaans University] professor Johan Schabot (who had been listed by government soon after the Strydom massacre on Church Square in Pretoria last year.)

Nowadays, Treurnicht also finds himself in the company of former AWB members Dave Barnett (an ex-leader of TerreBlanche's military wing, Aquila), Manie Maritz and Chris Beyers.

Treurnicht has also been accused of making militant speeches, demanding "the right to use what is necessary, including violence, to protect our people and our property." Even a newspaper like THE CITIZEN, which in the past has not been too enthusiastic about De Klerk's initiatives, has called on Treurnicht "not to encourage a shoot-it-out mentality among whites." In the same issue of that newspaper, Treurnicht was quick to say that his party would rather see people joining the police reservists than form uncontrolled "protection groups."

Treurnicht admitted, however, that the CP had already formed vigilante committees in several areas, including Welkom, which has been the scene of white-on-black violence.

Revolution as an alternative also features high on the agenda of the *Afrikanerfront-komitee*, a body which accommodates other far-right organisations under the chairmanship of Schabot. In a leak (said by the CP to come from Jaap Marais' HNP [Reformed National Party]) to the newspapers of Nasionale Pers, the confidential minutes of a meeting in December suggest that Treurnicht supports the idea of a rightwing extra-parliamentary front and rightwing action against black protest marches in white cities and towns.

According to the minutes, a representative of the front had fruitful talks with Treurnicht earlier. "He was very positive about rightwing action against black protest marches...as well as rightwing action against organised black swamping (verdringing) of white amenities," read the minutes.

A notable absentee at the meeting was Boshoff, whose public statements have often clashed with Treurnicht's views. In another confidential document, Boshoff says the establishment of *volkstaat* is the only solution if a political victory cannot be won. A CP victory at this

stage is not in sight, says Boshoff, and "the nation has not risen in spite of government opening up beaches."

While rightwing unity seems far off, a disturbing feature has been the incidence of white-on-black violence and sporadic anti-Semitic actions.

In one of the latest incidents, anti-Semitic pamphlets linked Jewish South Africans, liberal Afrikaners and NG Kerk [Dutch Reformed Church] moderator Johan Heyns to a plot to undermine Afrikanerdom. The accusation is that Heyns was born a Jew in Soestdijk in Holland and that he changed his name from Heinzowitz when he came to SA. No Jew can become a Christian, the pamphlet says; Heyns merely pretends to be one.

At this stage, it appears that De Klerk is not unduly concerned about the movement in rightwing circles. He did, however, make provision in his statement to parliament last Monday, for action against rightwing groups that take the law in their own hands.

It also does not appear that he fears a rightwing takeover by the security forces—but insiders say De Klerk is very concerned about morale in the security services. Revelations about the Civil Co-operation Bureau and so-called police death squads could not have come at a worse time for him.

* Government Urged To Start Educational Reforms

34000645D Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
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[Words in italics as published]

[Text] This was to be the year of education. After the disastrous matric results for blacks in December the alarm was sounded. It was time for education for liberation rather than liberation before education.

Then Nelson Mandela was released on 11 February and things have never been the same. Despite his calls for a return to school, stayaways and protest marches continue. Black teachers went on a four-week strike. The first quarter is already lost. This year's matric scores may be even worse.

Into this scenario the minister of white education, Piet Clase, dropped his recommendation for the opening of white State schools to all race groups. There were caveats, of course. A huge percentage ("for instance, 90 percent") of white parents would have to approve of opening their school. Even in the most progressive schools it would be difficult to get 9 out of 10 parents to agree. Of two dozen schools that have conducted informal polls, not one has achieved 90 percent.

Clase also said that government schools could go private and get a subsidy in excess of the usual maximum 45 percent. The cost, however, could put off many parents. Also, some black leaders are against privatisation, saying it should be a topic for negotiation.

As the realities set in, enthusiasm for Clase's plan faded. While many still consider it a move in the right direction, more and more write it off as a sop.

"Clase was being pushed to make hopeful noises," says Johan Muller, co-ordinator of the Wits Education Policy Unit. "It's not going to happen. I don't trust Clase. In fact, it can't happen because they don't have the administrative structure."

But what is the answer? Can the education system be reformed or must it be scrapped and the whole thing re-established? Is there any hope for black children for whom schooling is still not compulsory?

- The SA [South African] Institute of Race Relations says that even if all empty spaces in white classrooms were filled by blacks there would still be a need for 32,000 new classrooms;
- The National Education Co-ordinating Committee estimates it could cost R21,2bn to bring equality to black education;
- Perhaps as many as 85 percent of Soweto's 280 primary schools lack electricity; and
- One recent poll showed that only 7 percent of black adults have matric or post-matric, while 29 percent have no education at all.

Contrary to myth, blacks do want education. One of the toughest jobs Sister Brigit Rose Tiernan faces is turning away children who want to attend the Catholic primary school next to her convent in Soweto. "Parents come begging," says Tiernan, who heads the Catholic Institute of Education.

A familiar refrain from the left—including a mention in the DP [Democratic Party] platform last year—is that the 200,000 empty desks in white schools should be filled by blacks. But how this could be done raises myriad questions.

Which blacks would get a crack at those empty desks? Children who aren't enrolled anywhere or those who live nearest—though illegally—to the schools? Would the spots go to the brightest children? Who would do the testing? Would white teachers who oppose teaching blacks be accommodated? Which department's budget would provide funding? What syllabus would be used? In what language would they be taught?

Even if these problems could be solved, the move would help only 20 percent of those looking for spaces, so would be only symbolic.

"We can't do it piecemeal," Muller says. "There's a misconception that just opening schools will solve the crisis. But open desks in white schools are only a symptom."

Muller says integration is the answer. "The starting point has to be a unitary system" instead of the 14 departments that now handle education for four population groups in SA and the 10 homelands. The way to do that,

he believes, is to repeal discriminatory laws keeping black education inferior and standardise norms for all.

Like every possible solution to the problem, there are huge blocks. "Even if we get rid of legislated apartheid, in practice, State schools will remain segregated certainly for the rest of this century," says John Kane-Berman of the SA Institute of Race Relations. "Segregation will be the pattern even without the law because schools are spread around the country where people are living in racially defined areas. That won't change in a hurry."

Change means scrapping the Group Areas Act, which is not on government's immediate agenda because it will be a topic for negotiation. But isn't there anything that could be done meanwhile to alleviate the crisis?

Promoting blacks into decision-making levels of the Department of (black) Education & Training (DET) would help, says Franz Auerbach, retired organiser of the Teachers' Centre at Funda Centre, Soweto.

Upgrading administrative efficiency would go far towards improving morale, too. That includes ensuring that teachers get paid on time and correctly, an especially severe problem in the DET. He would also like to see an emphasis on getting an adequate number of the appropriate textbooks and teaching materials to black schools.

"That would do something dramatic that would affect a lot of people," Auerbach says.

Long-term solutions are more difficult because the question turns from motivation and better accounting methods to cash. Schools must be built to accommodate the exploding population. Buildings damaged by vandals or neglect must be upgraded. Electricity must be laid on at powerless sites.

Auerbach believes that proper nutrition would be a boost to many black children who are hungry when they arrive at school each morning. "A school feeding programme would have a powerful effect on learning."

The battle cry of education reformers on both sides of the issue is the devolution of central control to the communities and parent organisations. It's one reason the All Schools for All People campaign has serious reservations about Clase's reform plans.

"If only white parents decide, it misses the point completely," says Ian Moll, a spokesman for the Johannesburg group. "Every child has a right to attend school in his or her neighbourhood. Parents, black and white, at the local level should work it out."

Privatisation is derided in most quarters because there is a strong feeling that government should pay the whole cost of educating the people. "There should be free, compulsory, accessible schooling for all and government should provide it," Moll says.

That cost is astronomical. The Institute of Race Relations estimates that expenditure on education, housing,

health and pensions would have to be more than tripled to bring spending on blacks up to the level whites enjoy. In terms of GDP [gross domestic product] that would be an increase from 11 percent to 35 percent.

"There is no way we could afford that level of spending on just those four services," Kane-Berman says. "We'll have to face the fact that equality in provision of services by the State will mean lowering both white standards and black expectations."

The goal is to find a better way to spend available money. One free-market plan, outlined by Frances Kendall and Leon Louw in their book *Let the People Govern*, entails the State providing finance—but not the education—in the form of vouchers. In 1987-1988, total expenditure on education was R8,13bn. If that were divided among the 8,16m pupils enrolled that year, each could have had R1,000 to spend on the school of his choice. A school with 300 pupils would receive R300,000, enough to pay teachers and basic upkeep for a year.

"People would vote with their vouchers," Kendall says. "It doesn't mean the end of State schools but they would have to compete with private schools."

Kendall believes this would satisfy the various factions because there would be competition and options, leading to greater efficiency and higher standards, as well as local control. Schools would be answerable to parents armed with R1,000 vouchers who could move their children to another school. Parents who wanted their children in more expensive schools could make up the difference above the R1,000.

She says there would still be a need for an army of State employees to administer the voucher system (the State would turn over the money only after a child was registered) and inspect schools to ensure standards were maintained. To avoid fraud, vouchers would be redeemable only at schools that met minimum requirements.

Specialised schools offering everything from "people's education" to Montessori training would flourish. "Industry and commerce would be encouraged to train youngsters in technical skills if they could obtain vouchers to subsidise their costs," she says.

Yet the very word *voucher* turns off many people. British PM Margaret Thatcher supported a voucher system when she was minister of education but was blocked by the powerful teachers' lobby.

Free Market Foundation director Eustace Davie says the British idea of capitation funding, or equal per capita spending, is a marketable alternative, especially if parents who contribute fees over and beyond the State subsidy are offered a tax deduction or tax credit. The plan would abolish zoning and let children attend the school of their choice. It would also allow parent-teacher organisations to hire teachers and decide what to offer along with the core curriculum.

Davie says MP [Member of Parliament]s would support this but Pretoria's education bureaucracy would resist it fiercely. Popular support could build if people realised that "they may be better off with teachers under their control rather than under one education department."

Where would the money come from to provide equal spending on education? Economist Milton Friedman estimates that if all U.S. schools were privatised, for example, costs would be reduced by 40 percent.

Davie says the same holds true for SA. "If you bring control to the local level, you remove the overburden of bureaucracy."

Bold moves are needed because the education system—and the children it is meant to serve—should not be left behind while the rest of SA moves ahead with reform.

* Ideas for Distributing Wealth Vice Nationalizing

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[Words in italics as published]

[Text] Late-April and early-May could be crucial for SA [South Africa]. From 28 April, 60 ANC [African National Congress] economists and economics advisers will be at a four-day pow-wow in Harare to advise the organisation's leadership. On 2 May, Nelson Mandela leads his delegation to talk to President F.W. de Klerk.

Basically, the ANC and other liberation organisations are at one with the people and business in wanting a redistribution of wealth for the under-privileged black majority. Trouble is that most proposals are pretty nebulous, remain enmeshed in the ideologies of Left and Right, or seek to promote vested interests. Few address the contention that wealth redistribution is possible only in a growing economy.

The debate must focus on how best to get high growth. Until now, ANC policy statements have owed more to Sixties rhetoric of liberation movements and the Freedom Charter than to economic realities. In contrast, many of the business sector's policies smack more of charity than of contributing towards an environment in which black incomes and wealth can move ahead strongly.

Both appear to be founded on the notion that a quick fix can do the trick—whether it be nationalisation or throwing millions of rands at social upliftment schemes. And both start to founder on dogma. The ANC's colours remain firmly nailed to the mast of nationalisation, while business maintains that greater State ownership will lead to the economic shambles of eastern Europe.

If anything is going to work, it has to be appropriate to our resources. SA is not a basket case likely to struggle from one dollop of foreign aid to the next. But nor is it likely to be a prime target for foreign investment, even

were sanctions lifted immediately. The West is preoccupied with rebuilding Europe's collapsed socialist economies and will tend to avoid a country where the rhetoric of black empowerment is synonymous with nationalisation and where potential entrants to the local market are likely to be dissuaded by the clout of existing operators.

We have to achieve our economic miracle largely through our own efforts. We should be able to count on technological inputs from abroad along with foreign loan finance as we cease to be a pariah nation. But we are unlikely to see large-scale industrial development based on inflows of foreign equity.

We already have legal structures which guarantee ownership of property, even if laws such as the Group Areas Act are racially skewed. It must be scrapped soon but most other legal changes should be directed towards facilitating wealth creation and redistribution—designed to promote equal access to economic opportunities.

We also have appropriate organisations, particularly the black unions, with the muscle to win larger shares of the economic cake for their members. In turn, that implies businesses will have to take the reality of redistribution into account rather than simply paying lip service to the concepts of equality.

The danger is that unions which back the ANC could suffer the fate of, for example, their counterparts in Zambia—emasculatation and subservience to the party which restricts their ability to enhance members' positions. Anglo American's Michael Spicer subscribes to the concept of union representation on boards or inside corporate management structures. But as he points out, there is little to be gained if union representatives are committed to the destruction of capitalism.

Development Bank of SA special adviser Freek van Eeden points to one appropriate change—lifting restrictions on subdivision of agricultural land. He takes the pragmatic view that peasant farming is an efficient means of generating wealth for large numbers of comparatively ill-educated rural blacks. But they cannot acquire land unless some large white-owned farms can be subdivided into smaller, more-manageable plots.

It worked in Zimbabwe, even though the rest of that economy is creaking to a halt. And some other policies appropriate for Zimbabwe seem appropriate here. The Zimbabwean government did not succumb to the temptation of subsidising townspeople by artificially restraining food prices—rather, it allowed market forces to determine prices.

Of course, it worked but only with the help of State intervention on another level. Agricultural extension services in place since the days of Southern Rhodesia were built upon to provide farmers with the infrastructure needed to get produce to markets; extension services also concentrated on developing appropriate business and agricultural skills; encouragement was given to peasant cooperatives, which led to joint ownership of

relatively costly farm implements; and credit availability was ensured so that small farmers could afford inputs such as fertiliser.

It worked, in contrast to Zimbabwe's formal sector. Small farming output has grown faster than that of commercial farming, admittedly from a small base. That contrasts with the rest of the economy, which is shifting almost imperceptibly into the hands of Robert Mugabe's Zanu [Zimbabwe African National Union] party.

Zanu has bought up businesses across the economy at bargain basement prices acceptable to former owners largely because of guarantees that sales proceeds could be externalised immediately, in hard currencies.

Zimbabwe's treasury was depleted, foreign exchange shortages exacerbated the problems of an ageing industrial base and, in 1989, formal sector employment numbers were little different from 1973 even though the population had doubled. Even more to the point, Zimbabwe has shown that State ownership is elitist and little different from party ownership which, in turn, means jobs for cronies and to hell with the people in whose names nationalisation was done.

Economic policies have to be appropriate. Which does not mean a fatuous choice between capital- and labour-intensive industries. Both are appropriate in their place. Rising black incomes won't lead to rapid growth in demand for European holidays or sophisticated imports; demand will more likely be directed at simple products such as housing, household goods and clothing easily made in labour-intensive factories. Using Henry Ford's dictum, the workers will themselves become the market for factory goods.

In counterpoint sophisticated, capital-intensive manufacturing processes are required by most export industries. You cannot avoid the fact that a stainless steel plant needs a couple of billion rands of specialised equipment and can't be labour-intensive.

Cosatu attacks the matter from a different angle. It believes industrial wages should be raised by 30 percent or 40 percent almost overnight, arguing that the spending power that puts in black hands will be a powerful stimulant. Unfortunately, this begs the question of the effect on inflation and would skew cash distribution in favour of organised workers away from the rest of the population.

Rising black incomes have to be based on employment, for that is where redistribution becomes possible. JCI economics adviser Ronnie Bethlehem reckons that if we could sustain an economic growth rate of around 7 percent and create 4.5 percent more new jobs each year we would eliminate unemployment by the turn of the century.

How it's done is another matter. Bethlehem argues for make-work schemes such as labour-intensive highway construction or housing projects. That is fine as far as it

goes, but who will pay for the houses? In its latest Update, the SA Institute of Race Relations notes State subsidies for first-time home owners are increasingly being granted to blacks rather than whites.

Can one follow Afrikanerdom's model, the romantic notion that Afrikaners dragged themselves up by their own bootstraps because they mobilised their own savings? There are few signs that black South Africans are about to take the same route.

Stokvels and union-run provident funds manage tens of millions in cash flow a month. But when it was suggested recently that Numsa's provident fund should invest in subeconomic housing projects, effectively subsidising housing for the less privileged, the response was an unequivocal and pragmatic "no." The fund's managers asked why they should accept greater risk when members' interests were best served by investing for inflation-beating yields.

Perhaps subsidised housing should be a prime target for funds such as the R100m one launched by Liberty Life. Joint MD Dorian Wharton-Hood says R65m will be taken from shareholders' funds and invested along with a further R2m from the Donald Gordon Trust to generate R100m over five years. Wharton-Hood says trustees have still to be appointed; there are no plans how the money shall be spent except that it will be to help under-privileged communities.

This is not paternalism, Wharton-Hood adds, but an investment in the future, to help create a society in which Liberty itself can flourish. But the bottom line is that the fund's spending will be charitable—Liberty could not justify giving away policyholders' funds, just as Numsa's provident fund managers could not prejudice their members.

Deregulation is the current buzz word. Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto argues in his book *The Other Path* that deregulation unleashes individuals' entrepreneurial drives. We can see it working here—privately owned black taxis and hawkers thronging city centres. Still, deregulation is not a magic wand which produces wealth at a wave. We had deregulation when thousands were forcibly dumped in Dimbasa and no one there made money out of small businesses. No, deregulation of the sort that leads to spaza shops and black taxis can only work when juxtaposed with a formal sector which provides jobs and wages.

The informal sector alone cannot pull the economy along. The State must encourage the growth of formal manufacturing, particularly in the cities, which daily draw thousands of migrants from rural poverty.

SA can surely develop along this road but we still have to ask whether development and wealth redistribution will be fast enough to satisfy black aspirations. De Klerk's perestroika has sharply raised black expectations. But if the economy is unable to deliver to a pretty tight schedule, there is the real danger of politicians opting for

the grand gestures of inappropriate quick fixes. That is why privatisation aimed at achieving greater economic efficiencies mustn't now be stalled for imagined political benefits.

The key to this difficult question is leadership. Ordinary people will exercise extraordinary patience if they are convinced that equitable policies will eventually be to their advantage. Mandela and the ANC bear as much responsibility for that as De Klerk and the Nats.

* Black Business Challenged by Nationalization

34000646B Johannesburg *FINANCIAL MAIL*
in English 20 Apr 90 p 75

[Article by Stephen Cranston]

[Text] Black businesses are caught in a serious dilemma by the nationalisation issue. On the one hand, they are fully aware of the economic folly of such a move; on the other, they see it as a tool to create a fairer distribution of wealth.

The FM [*FINANCIAL MAIL*] could find no black business leader who would willingly come out unequivocally in favour of immediate privatisation—a move that has proved to have been universally successful. But black leaders appear to have a more realistic approach to the problem of redistribution than, say, the unions (see "Sharing SA [South Africa]'s wealth.")

Lot Ndlovu, chairman of the Johannesburg branch of the Black Management Forum, says his organisation is against nationalisation in principle, but believes it has its uses.

"Sectors of the economy could be nationalised for an interim period until the black community has been uplifted." He concedes that such a move could regrettable lead to a further exodus of skilled managers and workers, but adds that "if these people aren't committed to the future of the country, it might be good riddance."

Once blacks are well-off enough to play a meaningful role in the economy and, only then, would privatisation of some sectors be appropriate, he says. "The State isn't a wealth creator, so companies should be returned to the private sector once the inequities of the past have been alleviated."

Mashudu Ramano, the executive director of the Association of Black Accountants, agrees that whatever the merits of privatisation, it should be put on hold.

"Privatisation should not just be an end in itself or something that must be done because Margaret Thatcher and others have successfully denationalised certain sectors of the economy. It should be seen to be addressing the gross disparities of income and wealth distribution. If privatisation is going to bolster the current imbalance in the distribution of wealth and resources, then it has very little chance of success."

Ndlovu argues that if business had done more for black advancement in the past, there wouldn't be any talk of nationalisation. "Liberty Life has made a start with its R100m foundation, but why only now? It can't be coincidental that it's come after talk of nationalisation."

This view is backed by former African Bank CE Gaby Magomola, now the chairman of the marketing arm of the Foundation for African Business & Consumer Services. "Blacks aren't prepared to wait for wealth to trickle down through economic growth. Business will have to give serious thought to the question of getting the national income fairly distributed."

He says black businesses have been playing a gentlemen's game and they may have been too muted in their requests. "It took Mandela's nationalisation talk to scare corporations into action."

Business consultant Willie Ramoshaba says corporate SA shouldn't just bury its head in the sand. It should rather help draw up an appropriate agenda with the black community.

"The trouble with existing efforts such as the Urban Foundation is that they are white-driven and white-motivated. There was no attempt to negotiate the collective needs of the community."

He says business is very good at uniting when it's under attack, as it was against sanctions, but less so at uniting in finding solutions. "Business was as quiet as a mouse on black advancement before the sanctions threat got them talking."

Black managers do present alternatives to outright nationalisation. Ndlovu says nationalisation doesn't necessarily mean a complete takeover. Some form of partnership with private enterprise could be negotiated.

Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Chamber of Commerce, would not comment. But the chamber's newsletter, forwarded by the public affairs director, quotes Motsuenyane as saying that "one alternative is to persuade companies to hive off portions of their productive assets and pass these over to the disadvantaged black majority in order to hasten black economic participation and empowerment." Whether companies would be compensated, is not discussed. The chamber is teaming up with the ANC [African National Congress] in a joint economic commission that will report to the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Ramoshaba says there needs to be negotiations on the economic future running parallel with those on the political future.

Big business is in the process of setting its own agenda.

The SA Chamber of Business has a task force to investigate redistribution issues that is intended to devise an alternative to nationalisation.

If black managers can be believed, a good selling job on alternatives to nationalisation may take nationalisation off the agenda.

*** Academic Argues for Economy Over Group Rights**

34000650A Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English
26 Apr 90 p 6

[Commentary by S.J. Terreblanche]

[Text] "We will never have peace in South Africa as long as there is statutory discrimination." President F.W. de Klerk, Parliament, 19 April 1990.

This is one of the most important statements made by President de Klerk since he became State President. Until now he has been inclined not to give reasons for his dramatic announcements on reform or for the drastic changes in NP [National Party] policy.

In doing so he has exposed himself to the criticism that he was trying to bring about perestroika without glasnost that is, trying to bring about structural reform without the necessary moral persuasion to convince the public about the merit and desirability of his reform intentions.

Since the NP became a reform-orientated government in the early '70s, its track record on reform and especially on reform rhetoric has been poor. On countless occasions it has made itself guilty of double-talk and obscurity in language, of playing with hidden agendas and of not meaning what it was saying.

Because of the NP's dubious track record on reform, many people, myself included, have remained sceptical about the de Klerk Government's reform intentions. But now President de Klerk has given us an unqualified assurance that the government means what it says about the elimination of all forms of statutory discrimination.

But what is even more important is the categorical reason supplied by President de Klerk for the government's absolute commitment towards the complete elimination of all forms of statutory discrimination: "We will never have peace in South Africa as long as there is statutory discrimination." Bravo!

Our history is a sad tale of on-going strife and group conflict. Let us be honest, apartheid and discrimination were nothing but legalised group plundering! And as long as we continue with statutory discrimination, no matter in whatever disguise, we will in fact continue to legalise the plundering of some groups by other groups. Consequently, there will then still be no peace and President de Klerk has at long last acknowledged it.

New Constitution

He referred in his speech in Parliament to almost all forms of statutory discrimination. Strangely enough he did not refer to a very important present form of statutory discrimination, the annual budget, and to a

possible future form of a new constitution based on newly-defined "minority groups."

In the recent budget, approximately R28 billion was earmarked for social spending on education, health services, pensions and housing. The social spending on whites is however in per capita terms still five times larger than on blacks. Unfortunately the government did not supply us with hard statistics on the racial allocation of its social spending.

The cumulative effect on unequal and discriminatory social spending over at least four generations has been extremely discriminatory and damaging. Is President de Klerk not concerned about the discriminatory results of decades of discrimination?

It is to be deplored that he has not committed himself to the elimination of the (statutory) social spending gap in the same absolute terms as in the case of other forms of discrimination. On behalf of peace and social justice, and to create socio-economic conditions conducive to a future democratic system, it is of vital importance to make almost dramatic progress towards reaching parity in social spending at present white benefit levels.

Total Elimination

Given the poor state of the economy it will however not be possible to close the social spending gap without maintaining a high growth rate for a long period of time and without scaling down on the social spending on whites.

President de Klerk's absolute commitment towards the total elimination of discrimination has of course also far-reaching implications for the constitutional dispensation in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The real test in constitution-making now boils down to the following simple question: Is it possible to use "groups," however defined, as building blocks for a new constitutional dispensation without statutorily entrenching "group power" and "group privileges" yet one more time and thereby putting the rest of the population again in a position of disadvantage and discrimination? The simple answer to this question is: No it is not possible!

The "group concept" is per se a discriminatory concept. To think that a minority group (comprising more or less the whites) can try to bargain for protection in the new constitution, by claiming that their "protection" will not be discriminatory towards the disadvantaged majority, is nothing but a transparent exercise in ideological escapism.

The de Klerk government should immediately drop its obsession with "group protection" and replace it with a concern about how the productive capacity and the long-term growth potential of the South African economy can be "protected," when a truly competitive multi-party democratic system has been institutionalised.

World Economy

It is not necessary for me to spell out the dismal state of the South African economy. The "diseconomics" of apartheid and the worldwide isolation of the South African economy, invited by the government's persistence with apartheid, have caused almost irreparable damage to the economy. On the other hand it is important to realise that the abolition of apartheid and discrimination will release a demand for a great variety of economic benefits and social services that have been restrained purely by apartheid's discriminatory restrictions.

The government should immediately take adequate steps to reintroduce the South African economy into the world economy in an attempt to rebuild the economy as quickly and as properly as possible. The only chance of doing this and creating conditions conducive to a high growth rate is to start in all honesty with negotiations to end the white political monopoly.

The real challenge facing a truly democratic South Africa is, firstly, to bring about adequate structural reform to create a more humane market-orientated economic system and, secondly, to agree on non-discriminatory restraints to be built into the new democratic constitutional system to ensure that the new Parliament will not generate budgetary demands that will overstrain the tax capacity of the (probably still very) vulnerable South African economy.

Full Implications

When the new constitution is constructed the participants must wittingly create an institutional framework that will enable the new power-brokers to negotiate continuously (and in an orderly manner) on a reasonable trade-off between growth and international competitiveness on the one hand and equity and social upliftment on the other hand.

To make all this possible it will be necessary to accept non-racialism in its full implications as the only approach that will guarantee justice, peace and (economic) prosperity. But then non-racialism should imply true colour blindness, non-discriminatory political structures and an integrated society built on a new and genuine South African identity.

*** New Socialist Workers Group Created**

34000650B Cape Town *THE ARGUS* in English
19 Apr 90 p 5

[Text] A new socialist workers' organisation, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa), has been formed in the wake of the recent dissolution of several leftwing political groups, including the Cape Action League (Cal).

At a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday, general secretary Ms Jean Pease said the organisation held the interests of the working class to be of "paramount"

importance and could be regarded as an "independent watchdog of working-class interests."

It would serve the interests of all oppressed and exploited people and stood for leadership by the working class. It was strongly opposed to imperialism, capitalism, racism and sexism and sought a political system of one-person, one-vote in a nonracial, undivided, unitary country.

Ms Pease said while Cal had dissolved and merged with Wosa, it was incorrect to say Wosa was simply an extension of Cal. There was an overlap of interests but Cal was only a small, regional section of the national structure.

It was not affiliated to any international organisation and would support any liberation movement, such as the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Communist Party, when they were pushing for an improvement of the lot of the working class but would oppose the same movements on issues if it was felt they compromised the position of the working class.

Wosa would seek to broaden its support by initiating mass campaigns and by supporting other campaigns, such as the Living Wage Campaign.

*** Polish Chamber Head on New Trade Agreement**

34000632A Johannesburg *THE CITIZEN* in English
27 Apr 90 p 12

[Text] (Cape Town) South African businessmen were welcome to take part in the development of an East/West trade centre aimed at pursuing trade free of political interference, the president of the Polish Chamber of Commerce, Dr Andrzej Arendarski, said yesterday. He was speaking at the signing of a development agreement between his chamber and the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce. The signing was done in the office of the Minister of Trade and Industry, Mr Kent Durr, by himself and the executive director of the N Tvl Chamber, Mr John Toerien. It commits the signatories to using their "best endeavours" to strengthen economic relations between themselves and their two countries, to opening offices in each other's territories and grants them observer status at each others' meetings. Dr Arendarski said after the ceremony that he would like to see Poland as the focus of trade between the former Eastern Bloc countries and the Western world. "We would like to invite investors, shareholders from your country to participate in a trade centre. The aim of the enterprise is to pursue trade without political conditions and influences. We would like to buy your iron ore, your excellent wines, and wool also." The Polish chamber's permanent representative in SA [South Africa], Mr Tadeusz Kainski, said the economies of Poland and SA were complimentary. "We have a lot of products you need and

you have a lot we need. there is a potential for a very big turnover in a very short time. "We can offer equipment, technology, shipbuilding and chemical industries, while you have a very well-developed packaging industry, which we need, and some very interesting technologies in the chemical industry." The agreement had been signed yesterday to buy 200,000 tons of iron ore, and Poland had promised to buy a total of 600,000 tons in 1990.

*** Need for Middle Ground in Negotiations Argued**

34000632B Johannesburg THE STAR in English
26 Apr 90 p 20

[Article by Joyce Harris: "Middle Ground Must Act"]

[Text] There are many straws in the wind these days and they are all blowing in different directions. The political scene is so confused that it is difficult indeed to discern trends, options, directions. Yet it is vital to do so in order to be able to take constructive action. Contrary to all expectations, it seems that we now have the extraordinary phenomenon of the Government and the ANC [African National Congress] occupying the middle ground. They do this not because they share common beliefs or ideologies, but because they are willing to negotiate an acceptable future and are showing surprising flexibility, tolerance and willingness to compromise. When Mr Mandela was released, one nursed the irrational hope that his history, his ability and his undoubted stature would somehow make it possible for him to overcome all obstacles, contain his constituency, and be permitted to rise above it in order to achieve the miracle of peace, negotiation and an end to violence. Obviously this was asking too much of any one man, but he was certainly tried. So has Mr de Klerk, from where he stands. Both leaders have taken enormous risks with their constituencies, the results of which are demonstrated by the osmosis of the middle ground towards the peripheries. The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] appears to be consolidating. Violence in Natal is escalating and spreading to other areas. The hideous necklace has surfaced once again. The security forces sometimes appear to be out of control. The right wing is stealing arms from the Air Force and threatening to go for the throat of the ANC and the National Party is bleeding. The creation of the middle ground has not been without risks. These remain and will be aggravated for as long as the middle ground is unable to consolidate itself, control its constituencies, and show tangible, constructive results. The field in the middle is fertile (the Government, the ANC, business, Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade

Unions], the UDF [United Democratic Front], Nactu [National Council of Trade Unions], the DP [Democratic Party], liberals and their organisations, Inkatha) all those who have professed a preference for negotiation and peace. Lumping these disparate constituencies together in the middle ground may require a double take. They appear to be odd bedfellows. But the scenario is very different from that which has prevailed during all the years of National Party rule and the ideology of apartheid. There has been a very real shift in the political configuration and it must be recognised. It may be difficult indeed for all such parties and organisations to cooperate. It will probably go entirely against the grain for many of them, but each has its supporters. Each has its policies. Each has a stake in the future of this country, and each can help to swell the middle ground and make it prevail, stopping the leak to the peripheries. If the process is allowed to reverse itself, if the leak is in the opposite direction and the radicalism, or the reaction, or the violence of the periphery are allowed to spread and permeate the middle ground, the result can only be anarchy, bloodshed and disaster. The middle ground will need to do more than woo its supporters to prevent the leak. It will have to deal firmly with all the chaos being created on the periphery. It will have to find a way of handling the violence in Natal and elsewhere, a violence which is becoming increasingly mindless and which feeds upon itself. Somehow this will have to be defused and the perpetrators courted with attractive alternatives. The existence of a strong middle ground of cooperating constituencies will help, by offering positive, visible alternatives and hope for an eventual solution of all the problems. But it will have to act urgently and with firmness and strength, intervening physically to put a stop to the horrors that are being perpetrated and to exercise control. None of this is easy. But the alternatives are "too ghastly to contemplate". The middle ground must win. The periphery must be controlled and absorbed, so the contribution to the middle ground becomes increasingly broad. Everyone has a party to play to strengthen the middle ground, and all of its constituencies must cooperate so that negotiations can proceed with the least possible delay and positive steps can be taken to stop the rot, quell the appetite for violence and get on course towards a future acceptable to all our people. All those constituencies comprising the middle ground, actually or potentially, should stop their politicking and go for the achievement of a just society for all as peacefully as possible. Only then can their various agendas be brought into play, to be argued and not fought over. The future of the country demands this.

Ivory Coast

Customs To Strike; Gendarmes List Grievances

AB2505194790 Abidjan *FRATERNITE MATIN*
in French 25 May 90 p 2

[Excerpts] The wave of protests continues to be part of the daily lot of the people of Abidjan. After demonstrations by the soldiers and the policemen, customs officials are expected to take their turn today, just like the workers of the posts and telecommunications who had threatened to go on strike. Despite his very tight schedule, the head of state has received the executive members of the customs and posts and telecommunications trade unions.

He asked them to meet him again next week on 30 May, just as the prison wardens who had threatened to throw open the gates of the prisons if their working and living conditions were not improved. For their part, the customs officials demanded the militarization of their corporation, a demand they had submitted to the authorities for approval several years ago. [passage omitted]

The gendarmes, without embarking on any strike, have submitted a list of their demands. [passage omitted]

Can the country's present financial situation really enable us to meet all these demands?

Begin Strike 25 May

AB2505115490 Paris AFP in French 1106 GMT
25 May 90

[Text] Incidents occurred this morning in Abidjan, at the airport, and the environs of Plateau, where the Presidency, the ministries, major companies, and banks are located, AFP reporters at the scene stated. Witnesses said they saw policemen firing in the air near the harbor where customs officials went on strike this morning, although the national radio announced last night that President Felix Houphouet-Boigny had accepted to examine their demands. By 1030 GMT, it was not known whether there were any victims or arrests.

Other customs officials demonstrated at the Port-Bouet International Airport where traffic is normal. The customs officials are demanding the "militarization" of their jobs in the hope that it will improve their living and working conditions.

Furthermore, in the Gallieni ward, one of the military barracks in the city, policemen clashed with former soldiers who are seeking reintegration into the Army or the paramilitary corps (gendarmerie or police) without setting the usual competitive examinations.

Continue Strike, Block Bridge

AB2505162990 Paris AFP in French 1535 GMT
25 May 90

[Text] Abidjan, 25 May (AFP)—Ivorian customs officials who took to the streets in Abidjan today to demand the "militarization" of their jobs were continuing their strike as of 1430 GMT and were blocking the Houphouet-Boigny Bridge near the Presidency, which is being guarded by the militia, AFP journalists there have noted.

Several of them who gathered at the Customs Headquarters located in the Plateau District, the area housing the business center and the ministries, demonstrated noisily and demanded the resignation of their director general.

Also, several hundred others continued to block access to the two bridges and fired several gunshots in the air. At 1400 GMT, some demonstrators started to "requisition" taxi cabs, it was noted there. No incident had been reported as of 1500 GMT.

Also, unidentified men in uniforms demonstrated this morning in Treichville and Adjame, a working class area close to Plateau, according to shop owners who closed their shops following early attempts at looting.

Meet With President

AB2505182390 Paris AFP in French 1759 GMT
25 May 90

[Text] Abidjan, 25 May (AFP)—Most of the Ivorian customs officials who demonstrated today in Abidjan returned to their homes this afternoon after a delegation had been received by President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, but some of them decided to continue with the demonstration and were still firing shots in the air at about 1645 GMT.

The delegates stated that the president confirmed his appointment with them to examine their demands on 30 May, but refused to meet them sooner. The customs officials are demanding the "militarization" of their jobs (a way to improve their living conditions) and the resignation of their director general.

Suspend Strike Until 30 May

AB2505211890 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1930 GMT 25 May 90

[Text] Several social and professional groups have an appointment with the head of state at his Cocody private residence next week. For example, workers of the Customs Department are scheduled to meet him at 1100 GMT on 30 May. Workers of the Posts and Telecommunications Department are scheduled for 1700, while prison managers and wardens are scheduled for 1800 GMT. Concerning the workers of the Customs Department, here is a statement made this evening by the deputy secretary general of their trade union, Traore Doya Mamadou:

[Begin Mamadou recording] Comrade Workers of the Customs Department: On 21 May 1990, the Executive Bureau of the Ivory Coast National Union of Customs Officers deposited a 48-hour strike notice beginning 25 May to 26 May, inclusive. Again today, 25 May, at 1415, the president of the Republic received an important 35-member custom workers' delegation made up of members of the Executive Bureau of the union and all the categories of workers of our department.

At the end of this second meeting, the president of the Republic confirmed that he would receive the customs administration representatives to find a definitive solution to their concerns at 1100 GMT on 30 May. Consequently, the National Customs Workers' Union Executive Bureau and the representatives of all the categories of workers demand the temporary suspension of the strike action and call on all customs workers to return to work until the meeting on 30 May 1990. Thank you. [end recording]

Taxi Drivers, Hospital, Factory Workers Strike

*AB2805102090 Paris AFP in English 1009 GMT
28 May 90*

[Text] Abidjan, May 28 (AFP)—Staff at Abidjan's main hospital, taxi drivers, and some factory workers went on strike here Monday and took to the streets demanding pay stability or rises.

Railway workers sacked last year also joined them in the march, demanding their jobs back. They pulled a rail wagon across a road leading from Yopougon district, blocking it to all traffic.

Staff at the Treichville University Hospital took to the streets protesting at government plans to cut their pay. They have refused to move patients, to handle paper work or deal with X-rays.

The government was to announce Monday a new package of measures designed to turn back the tide of economic decline without resorting to the drastic wage cuts rejected overwhelmingly by the labour force.

A government statement, without spelling out the measures, Sunday said they aimed to "reduce financial imbalances, liberalise the economy, promote growth, safeguard and increase jobs and pay off a large part of the government's backlog of internal debt in order to restore confidence."

The government planned to call on "external technical assistance" to help it "boost tax income ... and crack down more efficiently on tax dodgers and all forms of corruption."

The statement said earlier plans to reduce wages of public workers and impose a special levy on wages in other sectors had been dropped. But it said this decision "would depend on the rest of the programme being applied to the letter."

The government said the new package had been approved by Western bankers, including the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The package will replace an earlier austerity plan drawn up in March but which was never introduced because of unprecedented protests by the public.

Since March, Ivory Coast has witnessed strikes and demonstrations on a scale unseen since independence.

The country's economic difficulties, rooted in a slump on the world cocoa and coffee markets, has fuelled pressure for political reform and for the retirement of veteran head of state President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

Continue Strike 29 May

*AB2905133890 Paris AFP in English 1252 GMT
29 May 90*

[Text] Abidjan, May 29 (AFP)—Day staff at Abidjan's public hospitals and taxi drivers remained on strike Tuesday for a second consecutive day over demands for pay stability and rises.

Soldiers have stepped in to handle hospital telephone calls and transport patients. But bodies are no longer being taken to the morgue, and laundry and cleaning employees have stopped work.

Strikers said they earn between 16,000 and 42,000 CFA francs (56 to 150 dollars) a month.

But they have no job security and many fear they will lose their jobs at the end of the month following new cuts in public spending and other government austerity measures announced Monday.

Taxi drivers opted to continue their stoppage despite a union statement saying they would return to work Tuesday because some of the drivers pay demands had been met. About 200 drivers, some carrying clubs demonstrated in the streets without incident.

Separately, informed sources said forest rangers demonstrated for better working and living conditions Monday at San Pedro, a large timber port some 400 kilometers (250 miles) west of here.

Travelers arriving here Tuesday said the rangers had seized several vehicles belonging to export firms. The Ivory Coast has been rocked by months of protest against government austerity plans.

Since the beginning of May, all of the uniformed services—Army recruits, police, gendarmes, forest rangers, firemen, customs agents—plus other groups have either protested for better conditions and pay or submitted lists of grievances to President Felix Houphouet-Boigny.

The government unveiled a new austerity scheme Monday, and called on the people to be "patient," insisting it would be impossible to meet everyone's demands.

Economic Package Announced at National Assembly

AB2805140990 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1245 GMT 28 May 90

[Text] Improvement of fiscal receipts and reduction in budget allocations—these, in short, are the measures presented to the National Assembly this morning by Alassane Ouattara, governor of the Central Bank of the West African States [BCEAO] and chairman of the interministerial committee on the Ivorian economic recovery. Bernard Ake has just returned from the National Assembly and has the details:

[Ake] Reduction in the state's operational budget by 25 percent; auctioning of over 3,000 state-owned vehicles; creation of a resident permit for foreigners; reduction in the number of our embassies abroad; more rigorous control of the number of civil servants and of government-leased accommodations; incentives to civil servants for early retirement—these are some of the measures contained in the structural adjustment and economic recovery program presented to the members of Parliament this morning by Ministers Moise Koumoue Koffi, Issouf Kone, Christophe Gboho, and by BCEAO Governor Alassane Ouattara. These measures are vital for our country's social and economic stability and preclude any salary cuts. The future of our country depends on the success of this plan, which has been approved by fund donors. Listen to Mr. Ouattara speaking to the members of the National Assembly:

[Begin Ouattara recording] Although the mission of the interministerial committee is difficult and delicate, it is exciting because it aims at improving Ivory Coast's economic and social prospects for the next few years. In my humble opinion, the future of our country will depend in many regards on the result of this mission. The interministerial committee has worked hard in the past four weeks and succeeded in meeting the deadlines for designing a new economic and financial program.

On 23 April 1990, negotiations resumed with the IMF and the World Bank, and they were concluded here in Abidjan on Saturday, 5 May 1990. The interministerial committee agreed on the objectives of the program and on the measures that the government must rapidly take to reduce our country's financial imbalance, ensure economic stability, and gradually reduce the unemployment rate. The program adopted after these negotiations is financially coherent and flexible regarding the domestic situation. It is also credible, according to our external partners, provided it is rigorously implemented.

The measures envisaged on the domestic front to correct our country's financial imbalance cannot, in the short term, cover our financial needs for 1990. For this reason, we had to brief our partners on the strong points of this program and convince them of the determination of the government and the nation as a whole to see to its effective and immediate implementation. That was the purpose of my recent missions to Paris and Washington

from 7 to 17 May 1990. It was important for us to be absolutely assured of the funding of the program before publishing it.

During the 10-day mission, I met with the French prime minister, the director general of the IMF, the IMF administrators from the major industrialized countries, namely France, the United States, Japan, the FRG, and Great Britain. I also held talks with the president of the World Bank, as well as with authorities of the U.S. State Department, Treasury, and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Throughout all these talks in Washington, I was accompanied by the minister of economy and finance and the BCEAO director for Ivory Coast.

Following the various talks, I was able to realize that our country enjoys full understanding on the part of our foreign partners, who found the program to be credible and who decided to support it. We are, therefore, assured of international funding for the program. The effective mobilization of external resources is, however, linked to the rigorous implementation of internal measures contained in the program. The government will address this with much efficiency, firmness, and serenity under the enlightened guidance of the president of the Republic.

On the domestic front, the government's action will essentially involve an in-depth reorganization of state finances and national state establishments in order to generate liquidity for local enterprises and banks and prepare for the revival of economic activities. With regard to state receipts, the planned measures involve much more improving tax yields than increasing taxes. The implementation of the measures to improve earnings necessitates a revitalization and a restructuring of the customs and tax collection services with the support of external technical assistance.

In the field of public expenditures, substantial savings will be made. Public expenditures, that is the recurrent budget, supplementary budgets, special accounts, and the budgets of the national public enterprises will be reduced by 25 percent. The measures aimed at controlling the state's expenses include, in particular, the auctioning, as early as June, of more than 3,000 administrative vehicles and new modalities for allocating government vehicles will be worked out after the reorganization of the administrative charts of the ministerial departments. Then, there will be increased checks on the allocation of government quarters, a census of civil servants in order to eliminate ghost workers, and reduction in transportation and mission allowances, and in the water bills, electricity bills, and telephone bills of government departments. There will also be controls over the expenses of state enterprises. This will permit reduced budgetary subventions allotted to some of them while enabling others to generate resources to improve the national budget. A program to encourage early voluntary retirements will be set up. Finally, the measures include closing a great number of our country's embassies abroad.

It is important to note that these measures to reduce public expenditures do not include cuts in the nominal salaries of civil servants. This orientation was the most difficult point during the negotiations with the international organizations because, indeed, salaries in our country absorb too large a portion of the state's resources.

Now that our external partners have accepted that salaries should not be reduced, it is important to make sure that there is no deviation in the execution of the program that has been negotiated. I also find it necessary to emphasize here that the resources of the state do not allow it to satisfy the financial demands made on the state's budget and public enterprises at this period of declining economic activity and falling prices of the raw materials exported by our country. It is, therefore, proper to keep this in mind in view of the recent social claims made.

Concerning the measures to reduce public and recurrent expenditures, particular instructions will be given to all the ministries as well as to national public establishments before submitting an amendment to the financial law to the National Assembly. The date for implementing all the measures for generating revenues and reducing the state's expenditure and those of national public establishments is fixed for 1 June 1990 to enable our external partners to release about 50 billion cfa francs before the end of June 1990. Concerning this issue, I would like to say that France already released 20 billion CFA francs a few days ago. In order to ensure the success of the stabilization and economic recovery program, it is necessary to rigorously implement all the actions envisaged without any delay and in an atmosphere of social peace.

Finally, I would like to insist on the fact that the commitments undertaken by our country concerning this program, which is backed financially by our external partners, must be strictly maintained. This concerns the credibility of the Ivory Coast on the international level and its prosperity during the coming years.

Dear assemblymen and women, taking into account the general economic situation of our country and the difficult international economic situation, the government's field of operations in the area of economic and financial management is limited, if not nonexistent. I did want to emphasize the budgetary figures of the program. I would like, however, to tell you that an effort of 130 billion CFA francs, made by our country in order to obtain an external financing of more than a trillion CFA francs including debt rescheduling, depends essentially on two factors: improving fiscal receipts with no deterioration in fiscal collection, and second, drastically reducing recurrent expenditures other than salaries. It is, as you can see, a fragile balance that we need to preserve in the face of recent social demands. In order to reconstitute progressively the operating basis of the financial and economic sector and improve the well-being of the people, we need to improve the management of the

state's finances as well as the quality of public services and take time to examine the social demands submitted to the head of state. [end recording]

[Announcer] I would like to add that this recovery plan, which was presented to the parliament this morning by Mr. Allassane Ouattara, is being discussed by the National Assembly and will be applied as soon as it is adopted by the deputies.

National Assembly Adopts Package

*AB2905134690 Abidjan Domestic Service in French
1245 GMT 29 May 90*

[Text] The plenary session of the National Assembly this morning devoted its debate to the new economic revival program for our country. The program, Pierre Adepeaud reports, was adopted by the deputies:

[Adepeaud] The National Assembly has just adopted the 10 bills concerning the economic and financial stabilization and revival program for Ivory Coast. These bills, which were presented yesterday to the assembly's economic and financial affairs commission by the government, concern amendments to the laws on the internal taxation system and to laws on foreigners' stay in Ivory Coast.

These new provisions constitute salutary measures aimed at cutting down on waste and restoring the major financial balances of the state, which are indispensable conditions for the economic revival of our country, according to the general rapporteur of the economic and financial affairs commission of the National Assembly.

Liberia

Government Urged To Ensure Safety of Citizens

*AB2405105290 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
0710 GMT 24 May 90*

[Text] The Legislative Caucus of Nimba County has called on the government to ensure the safety of all Nimba citizens. The caucus, chaired by Senator (David Tour,) said since the December incursion, a lot of Nimba citizens have been, as they put it, victims of mysterious circumstances.

Meets With UN Officials

*AB2705095090 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
2210 GMT 26 May 90*

[Text] United Nations officials in Liberia say they are holding urgent talks with the Liberian Government on ways of stopping the intimidation and killings of ethnic groups from Nimba County. More than 500 members of Mano and Gio ethnic groups from Nimba, many of them young men, have reportedly sought refuge at the United Nations office in the capital, Monrovia. They are quoted as saying they are afraid of nightly abductions by armed

and [word indistinct] attackers. Eleven mutilated bodies, most of them, soldiers from Nimba, have been found in Monrovia in the past week.

Doe's Early Election Proposal Reviewed

*AB2905143290 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 29 May 90*

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Frederick Dove]

[Text] Last night, President Samuel Doe of Liberia issued a statement in which he proposed holding general elections soon. The president's 10-year rule is coming under increasing pressure as the Patriotic Front rebels are now reported to be holding positions only 50 km outside the capital, Monrovia. On the line from there, I asked Michele Faure of the ASSOCIATED PRESS how the people of Liberia would react to the president's statement:

[Begin recording] [Faure] Finally, the previous talk about having an early election is not elicited as favorable with them, for most Liberians have in their minds very clearly the 1985 election, which was rigged, and the government finally said that President Doe had won with 51 percent of the votes, despite the belief that he did not win. So everyone believes that if there were another election, there would be similar rigging in his favor.

[Dove] So, if people think that he is on his way out, is this a last desperate bid to stay in power?

[Faure] I am not sure about that, because, you know, reports that came in indicate that government troops may have retaken Buchanan, not in a fight with rebels, but as the rebels withdrew from the port, government troops would move in. That would indicate that he would be a little bit in a stronger position.

[Dove] In the last few days, there have been reports of increasing attacks on people from the Mano and Gio tribes. What do you think the effect would be of this statement? Will it lessen their worries at all?

[Faure] I do not think that they are concerned about that at all at this point. I mean these people are at their house at night, there are soldiers knocking on their doors, people are disappearing. They have presented a list to the United Nations of more than 30 people who were dead and many, many dozens more who were missing. Their concern is not election. Their concern is their immediate safety, and the only thing they think that would keep them safe is to get out of the country, they want safe conduct out of the country.

They are also running into increasing tribal tensions in the city. The Mandingoes are running away from Monrovia, trying to get away over to Guinea, to Sierra Leone. Ivory Coast would be another option, but that route is blocked by the rebels. Rumors are just rife in the city that Mandingoes have been massacred by rebels in Buchanan and Takata. The rebels have been accused of targeting

Mandingo and Kru civilians in response to government troops' atrocities against the Gio and Mano. So it is not just the Gio and Mano who are panicking at this point.

[Dove] (?There were) reports yesterday of a government minister being mobbed by nearly 2,000 people. Are people becoming primarily frustrated with the authorities?

[Faure] I think people have no faith enough in the authorities. The message we got from these people was that no, they would not be happy with government troops, which is certainly obvious because these are the people that they say are killing them and harassing them. They say that the police had been disarmed and they are unhappy with them. They say Gios and Manos in the services have been purged and that they would not be safe under any of these people. I think what you have got is a situation where there is a total wreck of belief in anything the government promises, and this has been strengthened by the government's own misinformation about what is going on in the war, for example, its claim last week that it had retaken Buchanan, which just was not true. [end recording]

Senate Debates Proposal

*AB3005093290 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
0709 GMT 30 May 90*

[Text] In a bid to end the crisis in the country, the Liberian Senate has begun debating President Doe's communication calling for early elections. This was disclosed in a release issued yesterday by the Senate. The Senate is, meanwhile, inviting the public and the press for a full coverage of the occasion at the Senate today, May 30, beginning at 1000.

In a related development, the Ministry of Information will today hold a special press briefing on the latest development to the ongoing crisis in the country. All local and foreign journalists are invited to the briefing which commences at 12 noon at the Information Ministry.

Schools Close in Fear of Rebel Attacks

*AB2905133090 Paris AFP in English 1021 GMT
29 May 90*

[Text] Monrovia, May 29 (AFP)—Monrovia was Tuesday in the grip of fear as rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) were reported closing in on the Liberian capital.

More schools were closed and many workers stayed away from their jobs. A tour of the capital's schools showed they had been closed without notice to parents, and a few students who turned out for classes were told to go home.

At rebel headquarters Monday in Tapeta, in Liberia's Nimba County, a rebel spokesman told an AFP correspondent that a rebel unit headed by the NPFL's military leader Charles Taylor, 42, was attacking government

positions around the west African state's only international airport at Robertsfield, 30 miles (50 kms) east of here.

The spokesman said an advance on the capital was "imminent" and that clashes had occurred in the giant Bridgestone (formerly Firestone) rubber plantation, which stretches up to the suburbs of the capital.

They had also achieved "definitive" control of the key towns of Buchanan, an iron ore port, and Gbangba, respectively 120 kilometers east (75 miles) and 150 kilometers north (94 mile) of Monrovia, he said.

At the state-run University of Liberia Monday students and teachers refused to attend classes saying they feared rebel attacks. An announcement on state radio Tuesday said classes on the Fendell Campus, some eight miles (11 kms) outside Monrovia, had been transferred to the main campus in central Monrovia.

The announcement gave no reason for the transfer, but Fendell Campus is on the main road to Kakata where the government says fighting between its forces and the rebels has intensified. But the rebels said they seized the strategic crossroads town, 35 miles (56 kms) from Monrovia, on Monday.

Meanwhile many Guinean nationals in Monrovia are packing up their belongings and leaving for home. A group of about 40 Guineans, including women and children, were seen packing up Tuesday to leave. They told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE they had lived in Liberia for the past 15 years, but were leaving because of the fighting.

On Monday, hundreds of people thronged the Foreign Ministry here requesting passports to flee the country. Residents in Monrovia must now identify themselves at the many checkpoints set up in suburbs. They must also get off their buses and taxi cabs and walk through the checkpoints.

Rebels Claim Control of Buchanan

*AB2905182590 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 29 May 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Residents of the Liberian capital are now preparing to leave amid fears of a rebel attack. Most of the people trying to get out are from the Mandingo ethnic group who in the past said they have been singled out by NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] rebels during their attacks. Meanwhile, there is still some confusion about who is in control of Liberia's second port, Buchanan, which the government claims to have retaken from the NPFL this weekend. This afternoon, we had a call from Buchanan from a spokesman for the rebels who refused to give his name. He said he was calling from the office of the state Limco [Liberian Mining Company]

Mining Company. We called him back and on the line, Robin White asked him what the situation is in Buchanan now.

[Begin recording] [NPFL spokesman] The situation in Buchanan is one of calm. The National Patriotic Front is in full control of the city of Buchanan. There is no gunfire whatsoever in Buchanan at this time. The information given by the Liberian Government a few days ago that Buchanan was under a very effective control is an erroneous report.

[White] There were reports of a takeover over the weekend. Is that true?

[NPFL spokesman] Well, there was an attempt to enter the city. The government used artillery in the city which frightened particularly the civilian population and we were at the St. John River area attempting to push them back and we succeeded in doing so.

[White] But did government troops actually get into Buchanan over the weekend?

[NPFL spokesman] Well, the government forces, a few of them, were able to enter and I think somewhere around 50 or so were able to slip in. But we have since flushed them out. We spent a few days trying to locate them. As you know, Buchanan is a sizeable city, but we have been able to put the city under full control. As a matter of fact, all of today, there has been no gunfire whatsoever.

[White] Was there hand-to-hand fighting between your men and government troops over the weekend?

[NPFL spokesman] I would not say hand-to-hand. I think you would say there were rifle exchanges and artillery exchanges.

[White] Where, according to you, is the frontline now?

[NPFL spokesman] Well, my response to that is that we cannot give you any direct information on that in order not to reveal our military secrets, but I would say that the people in the Firestone area should have reason for concern very soon. But it is very close to Monrovia, it's very close to Roberts International Airport.

[White] What about the city itself? Are you aiming to attack the city?

[NPFL spokesman] Well, our main objective is to remove Samuel Doe from power, and Samuel Doe resides in Monrovia, so obviously, we are coming to get him.

[White] Are you prepared to negotiate a settlement at all?

[NPFL spokesman] Robin, at this point, I do not think that a settlement is at all part of the cards. We will accept nothing but the full and unconditional surrender of Mr. Doe.

[White] Now people, some people in Monrovia, particularly the Mandingos seem to be panicking and fearing

for their own safety should you get anywhere near the place. Do they have good reason to fear?

[NPFL spokesman] Well, I don't see why they should. Our official position is not directed at any particular tribe. We are not directing our aggression against the Krah or the Mandingo tribe. We are primarily interested in relieving the Liberian people of their suffering—suffering that has been inflicted upon them for the past 10 years by the Samuel Doe regime. [end recording]

U.S. Proposals on Situation Noted

AB2905195690 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 29 May 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Excerpts] We have been getting quite a few calls from Liberian Patriotic Front rebels today. The first was from the port of Buchanan which the Liberian Government claimed yesterday to have retaken after a heavy fighting. Well, this afternoon, a rebel spokesman called us up from there. He refused to give his name, but said he was calling from the offices of the state's mining company, Limco. We called him back and on the line, Robin White what the situation is in Buchanan now. [passage omitted]

And the second call we got from the NPFL rebels today was from their spokesman in America, Tom Woewiyu. According to him, some kind of deal is being proposed by the American Government in conjunction with some Liberian legislators under which President Doe might quit. This might prevent the expected rebel attack on Monrovia. On the line to New York, Robin White asked Mr. Woewiyu what the deal involves.

[Begin recording] [Woewiyu] The deal is a proposal from people in the legislature that is coming through the American Government that they are proposing at the legislature a symbol that the Government of Liberia will resign. They will all resign. Doe will resign and he will apparently maybe leave and an interim government will be formed. One of the proposals that is being made and this proposal was passed on on to us is that some consideration of amnesty should be given to government officials.

[White] If there are moves in the legislature for the Liberian Government to resign, would you then call off your march on Monrovia?

[Woewiyu] If the Liberian Government resigns and it can be verified and Samuel Doe were to leave the government and leave Liberia and go wherever he has to go, I don't have the authorization of my leadership to say this, but in the interest of all Liberians, I believe that we wouldn't insist that—his life is not worth anything to us anyhow—that he remains there and we have a confrontation and have all these people killed in Monrovia. So if the government resigns and he is no longer in the picture, we will be willing to find some way to resolve the problem without a carnage in Monrovia.

[White] Now, I understand that you have, in fact, been talking to these legislators in Liberia.

[Woewiyu] I have spoken to a few of the senators and representatives this morning.

[White] Could you say who they are?

[Woewiyu] No, I don't think it is proper.

[White] But they rang you up today to make an offer?

[Woewiyu] Well, some of them rang up to say, especially to emphasize the whole idea of giving them time.

[White] But these legislators were proposing to do what exactly? They were proposing to stand up in the legislative assembly and call on the government to resign or exactly what are they proposing to do?

[Woewiyu] What I understand is the top leaders of the legislature are saying that they would propose if they had the time and if we would give them time, they would assemble the legislature and ask that the a resolution be passed and the government resigns. And when that happens, I suppose Doe will be out of the way and an interim government will form. And they need some time to do that.

[White] Did you tell them that they had time or not?

[Woewiyu] They do not have. Not from us. There was absolutely not one second of time to be given to them. They have had all the time and instead of using the time in the last few days or weeks, instead of using some time to find some resolution to this problem, they all sat in Monrovia and beheaded everybody that they could behead and in fact no one is going to give them any time to do anything. They had better do something or we're just going to come to town and finish it all. [end recording]

Catholic Bishops Denounce War

AB2905211990 Monrovia Radio ELWA in English
1710 GMT 29 May 90

[Text] The Catholic Bishops of Liberia say a military solution to Liberia's present crisis is not the solution. A pastoral letter from the Catholic Bishops Conference issued over the weekend and quoted by a local daily said the bishops are calling for a dialogue. The bishops are calling on the combatants to lay down their arms and come to the conference table. The bishops stressed the need for an immediate end to the war, adding, Let the war stop, and stop immediately. So many innocent lives have been taken on both sides. So many young lives are perishing, so many innocent men, women, boys, girls, and babies are being killed or are suffering.

The bishops noted that like rational men and women, we must sit and try to find out what the causes of this tragedy are, and look for the means to solve them. Despite the government's position on, No Dialogue with Rebels, the Catholic bishops, concerned students of the

University of Liberia, the pastor of the Monrovia Free Pentecostal Church, all have called for negotiations between government and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia. Similar calls have come from Rev. Momoh Kpan of the United Methodist Church and from the former chief justice of Liberia, Counsellor Chea Cheapoo, among others.

'Armed Men' Attack UN Office

*AB3005104290 Paris AFP in English 1032 GMT
30 May 90*

[Text] Monrovia, May 30 (AFP)—One person was shot, another wounded and several others abducted when armed men wearing military uniforms attacked the

United Nations office where people of the Gio and Mano tribes have taken refuge, U.N. officials said Wednesday. U.N. resident representative Michael Hyne told reporters the attack took place in the early hours Wednesday. He said the attack had been reported to the U.N. secretary general in New York. It was "unbelievable" and a serious violation of international law.

The Gio and Mano tribes are said to make up the bulk of rebels of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPLF) which is reported close to this capital in its bid to overthrow the regime of President Samuel Doe. In recent days several members of the two tribes living here have disappeared and the mutilated bodies of some of them have been found in the city.

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